

The copyright © of this thesis belongs to its rightful author and/or other copyright owner. Copies can be accessed and downloaded for non-commercial or learning purposes without any charge and permission. The thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted as a whole without the permission from its rightful owner. No alteration or changes in format is allowed without permission from its rightful owner.



**THE ROLE OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S
DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA'S SECURITY
DYNAMICS**



ISAAC TERUNGWA TERWASE

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
2017**

**THE ROLE OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S
DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA'S SECURITY
DYNAMICS**



ISAAC TERUNGWA TERWASE (95467)

**A Thesis Submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government
In Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy
Universiti Utara Malaysia**



Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)
Universiti Utara Malaysia

PERAKUAN KERJA TESIS / DISERTASI
(Certification of thesis / dissertation)

Kami, yang bertandatangan, memperakukan bahawa
(We, the undersigned, certify that)

TERWASE ISAAC TERUNGWA (95467)

calon untuk Ijazah
(candidate for the degree of)

Ph.D

telah mengemukakan tesis / disertasi yang bertajuk:
(has presented his/her thesis / dissertation of the following title):

**THE ROLE OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA'S
SECURITY DYNAMICS**

seperti yang tercatat di muka surat tajuk dan kulit tesis / disertasi.
(as it appears on the title page and front cover of the thesis / dissertation).

Bahawa tesis/disertasi tersebut boleh diterima dari segi bentuk serta kandungan dan meliputi bidang ilmu dengan memuaskan, sebagaimana yang ditunjukkan oleh calon dalam ujian lisan yang diadakan pada **16 Mac 2017**

*That the said thesis/dissertation is acceptable in form and content and displays a satisfactory knowledge of the field of study as demonstrated by the candidate through an oral examination held on: **March 16, 2017***

Pengerusi Viva
(Chairman for Viva)

: **PROF. MADYA DR. DANI SALLEH**

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Pemeriksa Luar
(External Examiner)

: **PROF. MADYA DR. MOHD AFANDI
SALLEH**

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Pemeriksa Dalam
(Internal Examiner)

: **PROF. MADYA DR. MUHAMMAD FUAD
OTHMAN**

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Tarikh: **16 Mac 2017**
Date

Nama Pelajar
(Name of Student) : TERWASE ISAAC TERUNGWA (95467)

Tajuk Tesis
(Title of the Thesis) : THE ROLE OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S
DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA'S SECURITY DYNAMICS

Program Pengajian
(Programme of Study) : PH.D

Penyelia Pertama
(First Supervisor) : ASSOC. PROF. DR. ASMAT NIZAM ABDUL
TALIB

Penyelia Kedua
(Second Supervisor) : DR. KNOCK TAPIWA ZENGNI

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Tandatangan
(Signature)



UUM
Universiti Utara Malaysia

PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in fulfillment of the requirement for the post graduate degree from the Universiti Utara Malaysia, I agree that the University Library may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that the permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purpose may be granted by my supervisor or in his absence by the Dean Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government. It is understood that any copy or publication or use of this thesis or part thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the Universiti Utara Malaysia for any scholarly use which may be made of any material from this thesis.

Request for permission to copy or make other use of material in this thesis, in whole or in part, should be addressed to:

Dean
Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government
College of Law, Government and International Studies (COLGIS)
Universiti Utara Malaysia
06010 UUM Sintok
Kedah Darul Aman
Malaysia

ABSTRACT

The failure by the Nigerian Government to address socio-economic challenges such as unemployment, illiteracy and poverty has contributed to the security challenges posed by the Boko Haram in relation to killing of the people, kidnapping, bombing and cases of internally displaced persons. This study seeks to investigate the role played by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and its partners, the Nigerian Government and other stakeholders in addressing security challenges confronting Nigeria during the Fourth Republic, particularly during the tenureship of Presidents Umaru Yar' Adua and Goodluck Jonathan from 2009 to 2014. The objective of this study is to examine to what extent Boko Haram's insurgency and terrorist activities affected the country's security dynamics. It also assesses the successes and failures of the NEPAD's plan and initiative in tackling these dynamics. This research utilizes qualitative research method, with the interview technique being the main tool for primary data collection. Six states were selected from each of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. The findings of this research reveal that the Northerners felt cheated and betrayed by the Southerners when the mutually agreed practice of zoning or rotational of presidency between the North and South was disregarded by the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). This situation occurred when Goodluck Jonathan, a Southerner Christian, succeeded Yar' Adua, a Northerner Muslim, as Nigerian President following the latter's untimely death. This episode further worsened the political climate of Nigeria which was already affected by Boko Haram's insurgency. The research also shows that NEPAD's close partnership with the federal and state governments has led to job creation for the youths. This study would contribute to the body of knowledge based on the theoretical perspective of integration theory on the strengthening of peaceful co-existence of the people through national integration. The study would assist the policy makers in the field of peace and security to emulate Nigeria, especially countries that may be confronting with similar challenges.

Keywords: New Partnership for Africa's Development, Security Challenges, Integration Theory, Boko Haram, Nigeria

ABSTRAK

Kegagalan kerajaan Nigeria untuk menangani cabaran sosio-ekonomi seperti pengangguran, iliterasi dan kemiskinan telah menyebabkan cabaran-cabaran keselamatan dari Boko Haram berkaitan dengan pembunuhan orang awam, penculikan, pengeboman dan kes-kes pemindahan secara paksa. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji peranan yang dimainkan oleh Perkongsian Baru bagi Pembangunan Afrika (NEPAD) dan rakan-rakannya, Kerajaan Nigeria dan pihak yang berkepentingan dalam menangani cabaran-cabaran keselamatan yang dihadapi oleh Nigeri sewaktu Republik Keempat, terutamanya sepanjang tempoh pentadbiran Presiden Umaru Yar' Adua dan Goodluck Jonathan dari 2009 hingga 2014. Objektif kajian ini juga mengkaji sejauh manakah aktiviti-aktiviti keganasan dan pemberontakan Boko Haram mempengaruhi dinamika keselamatan Nigeria. Ia juga menilai kejayaan dan kegagalan perancangan dan inisiatif NEPAD dalam menangani dinamik tersebut. Kajian ini menggunakan kaedah kajian kualitatif dengan teknik temu bual sebagai alat pengumpulan data primer yang utama. Untuk tujuan kajian ini, enam negeri telah dipilih daripada setiap enam zon geopolitik di Nigeria. Penemuan kajian ini mendedahkan bahawa pihak Utara merasa ditipu dan dikhianati oleh pihak Selatan apabila parti pemerintah, People's Democratic Party (PDP) tidak mengendahkan pemilihan presiden yang berdasarkan amalan pengezonan atau pengiliran antara negeri-negeri Utara dan Selatan yang telah dipersetujui bersama. Situasi ini berlaku apabila Umaru Yar' Adua, seorang Muslim Northerner telah digantikan selepas kematian beliau oleh Goodluck Jonathan, seorang Kristian Southerner. Episod ini memburukkan lagi iklim politik Nigeria yang telah pun terjejas oleh pemberontakan Boko Haram. Kajian itu juga menunjukkan bahawa kerjasama erat yang terjalin di antara NEPAD dengan kerajaan pusat dan negeri telah mewujudkan peluang pekerjaan untuk golongan belia. Kajian ini akan menyumbang kepada bidang pengetahuan yang berdasarkan perspektif teori integrasi mengenai pengukuhan kewujudan bersama rakyat secara aman melalui integrasi nasional. Kajian ini akan membantu pembuat dasar dalam bidang keamanan dan keselamatan untuk mencontohi Nigeria terutamanya negara-negara yang mungkin menghadapi cabaran yang sama.

Kata Kunci: Perkongsian Baru Bagi Pembangunan Afrika, Cabaran Keselamatan, Teori Integrasi, Boko Haram, Nigeria

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indeed grateful to the Most High God for creating me as a human being. I am nothing without God in Heaven. It is indeed an honour and a privilege that God has given me to come to Universiti Utara Malaysia for this PhD Programme and from my heart, I say thank you Lord.

To my two PhD Supervisors, Associate Professor Dr. Asmat Nizam Abdul Talib and Dr. Knocks Tapiwa Zengeni, I truly lack words to appreciate you for all your efforts throughout my programme here in UUM. You have both impacted knowledge in me on how to conduct research, you have taught me how to write articles and your encouragement kept me going.

My dear wife, Joyce Mcivir Terwase, you stood by me and you accepted me the way I am even without a single job. Your love, care and support in all ramifications cannot be forgotten. May the God of heaven continue to bless you greatly.

To my dear Mummy, you stood by us as children and your love for us all cannot be forgotten. I look forward to becoming a blessing to you in appreciation for all your supports. However, my late father, Mr. Vincent Terwase Ikyernum is not alive today, but I say thank you Daddy. To my grandmother, Mama Kwaghgbough and grandfather, Baba Nyiyongo, I love you dearly and thank you for your encouragement and support towards my educational career. My siblings, Bem, Msugh, Tersoo and Mnenge, I want to say a big thank you for your love and support too. My In-Laws, Mr. Msugh Tondo, Ms. Kate Tondo, and Mrs. Jennifer Opadeji, thank you for your prayers and support. To my Uncles, Mr. James Ikyernum, Mr. Jonathan Mbaakaa and my entire Uncles, the Ataghers, may God bless you all for your love, care and support. Special thanks to all my friends and classmates in Nigeria and Malaysia. To my parents, brothers and sisters in the Lord, thank you for all your prayers.

Universiti Utara Malaysia, thank you for the research grants you provided to enable me to conduct this research work. From this day on, I shall remain your Ambassador where ever I find myself.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ABSTRAK	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF APPENDICES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xii

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background to the Study	1
1.3 Statement of the Problem	13
1.4 Research Questions	13
1.5 Objectives of the Study	14
1.6 Significance of the Study	15
1.7 Scope of the Study	15
1.8 Research Method	16
1.8.1 Research Philosophy	16
1.8.2 Methodological Choice	17
1.8.3 Research Design	17
1.8.4 Sampling Strategy	17
1.8.5 Data Collection	19
1.8.6 Data Analysis Technique	19
1.9 Definition of Key Terms/Concepts	20
1.9.1 Boko Haram	20
1.9.2 Security	21
1.9.3 NEPAD Nigeria	21
1.9.4 Security Dynamics	22
1.10 Chapterization	22

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	25
2.1 Introduction	25
2.2 Literature Review	25
2.2.1 Research Gap	60
2.3 Integration theory	61

2.4 Integration Theory and Non-Traditional Security Nexus.....	81
2.4.1 Geopolitical Zones.....	81
2.4.2 Ethnicity.....	84
2.4.3 Religion.....	85
2.4.4 Youth Unemployment.....	86
2.4.5 Human Security	87
2.5 The Frustration-Aggression Theory	87
2.5.1 Poverty and Unemployment	89
2.6 Chapter Summary.....	96
CHAPTER THREE: THE DOMESTICATION OF NEPAD IN NIGERIA	97
3.1 Introduction	97
3.2 The Establishment of the Organization of African Unity	97
3.2.1 The OAU and the Security Perspective	100
3.2.2 The Formation of the African Union	103
3.2.3 The Role of the AU's Peace and Security Council and NEPAD Relationship	105
3.3 The Implementation of NEPAD's Peace and Security Objective in Nigeria.....	108
3.4 NEPAD Nigeria's Domestication	111
3.4.1 The Primary Objectives of NEPAD Nigeria.....	115
3.4.2 The Priorities of NEPAD Nigeria.....	116
3.4.3 The Principles and Values of NEPAD Nigeria.....	118
3.5 The Domestication of NEPAD's APRM in Nigeria	119
3.5.1 The Leadership of APRM.....	121
3.5.2 The APRM's Implementation in Nigeria.....	123
3.5.3 The Partners of APRM	124
3.6 The Role of NEPAD on Peace and Security in Nigeria	126
3.6.1 NEPAD Partnership.....	128
3.7 Chapter Summary.....	131
CHAPTER FOUR: THE SECURITY DYNAMICS OF NIGERIA 2009-2014: THE BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY	132
4.1 Introduction	132
4.2 The Ruling Political Party and the Boko Haram Security Dynamics	134
4.3 The Truncated Zoning Arrangement and Boko Haram Security Dynamics	145
4.4 The Key Issues Raised by Boko Haram	153

4.4.1 Democracy	154
4.4.2 Christians	158
4.4.3 Nigerian Constitution.....	161
4.4.4 Muslims	165
4.4.5 Western Education.....	167
4.5 The Effects of Insecurity on the People and the Government.....	168
4.5.1 Killing of the People	170
4.5.2 The Abducted Chibok Girls by Boko Haram	178
4.5.3 Boko Haram Attacks on the Government of Nigeria	183
4.5.4 The Effect of Boko Haram Conflict on National Security	185
4.6 Chapter Summary.....	193
CHAPTER FIVE: NEPAD’S BLUE PRINT FOR SOLVING THE SECURITY CRISIS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA	194
5.1 Introduction	194
5.2 NEPAD Partnership with Security Agencies	194
5.3 The NEPAD Partnership on Socio-Economic Development	198
5.4 NEPAD Partnership with Federal Government	200
5.4.1 Zoning As A Tool	205
5.4.2 Interpretation of the Zoning Formula Model.....	212
5.5 Recommendations	214
5.6 Chapter Summary.....	219
CHAPTER SIX: THE IMPACT OF NEPAD’S ACTIVITIES ON NIGERIA’S SECURITY PRAXIS	221
6.1 Introduction	221
6.2 NEPAD’s Partnership on Security	221
6.3 NEPAD Intervention on Herdsmen.....	222
6.4 The Truncated Zoning Arrangement and Boko Haram.....	223
6.5 NEPAD’S Partnership on Refugees and IDPs	224
6.6 NEPAD Partnership on Socio-Economic Development	225
6.7 NEPAD Partnership with Federal Government	226
6.8 Chapter Summary.....	227
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION	229
7.1 Introduction	229

7.2 Summary of Research Findings	229
7.3 Research Implications	233
7.4 Limitations of the Study	234
7.5 Recommendations for Future Research	235
7.6 Concluding Observations	236
REFERENCES.....	241



LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Map of Nigeria showing the Affected States by Boko Haram	266
Appendix 2. The NEPAD Core Group	267
Appendix 3. Nigeria Geo-Political Zones	268
Appendix 4. Lists of Interviews	269
Appendix 5. A Mass Burial in Dogo Nahawa, near Jos, Plateau State	270
Appendix 6. Full view of the mass burial in Dogo Nahawa Village	271
Appendix 7. The Youths who engaged in violence and attacks	272
Appendix 8. A Picture of Boko Haram members	273
Appendix 9. A Picture of Boko Haram Members in disguise as Herdsmen	274
Appendix 10. The weapons used by the arrested men	275
Appendix 11. Parents of the Abducted Girls on their Knees Crying	276
Appendix 12. Picture of Malala's Visit to President Jonathan in Abuja	277
Appendix 13. A Picture of the Public Buses that were bombed in Abuja	278
Appendix 14. The UNCHR Officials Handing Over Housing Units for IDPs	279
Appendix 15. UNCHR Donates 100 Housing Units	280
Appendix 16. The 21 Chibok Girls that were released by the Boko Haram	281
Appendix 17. The National Coordinator of NEPAD and Chief of Army Staff	282

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 Map of Nigeria showing the Six Geo-Political Zones	62
Figure 2.2 Theoretical Framework Diagram of Integration Theory	80
Figure 2.3 Theoretical framework diagram of Frustration-Aggression Theory	95
Figure 2.4 Linking the Integration theory and the Frustration-Aggression Theory	96
Figure 4.1 A location of Gamboru Ngala near Cameroon	178



LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Summary of Previous Studies on NEPAD, Peace & Security in Nigeria	26
Table 4.1 First Example of Zoning	136
Table 4.2 Zoning in 2007-2011	137
Table 4.3 Northern Proposal of Zoning 2007-2015	138
Table 4.4 When Zoning was truncated in 2011	144
Table 4.5 Zoning of Political Position from 2007-2011	147
Table 4.6 The leadership of Nigeria between the North and South 1966-2015	147
Table 4.7 States won by President Jonathan, Atiku and Jubril	161
Table 4.8 Nigeria's Security Budget from 2011-2015	190
Table 4.9 Budget for Nigeria's Security Agencies 2011-2015	191
Table 4.10 Budget for Nigeria's Defence Ministry 2011-2015	192
Table 4.11 Interior Ministry's Budget 2011-2015	192
Table 4.12 Budget for Nigeria's Police 2011-2015	192
Table 4.13 Budget for the Office of National Security Adviser	193
Table 5.1 An Example of Equal Representation	209
Table 5.2 Zoning Formula Model One	211
Table 5.3 Zoning Formula Model Two	211
Table 5.4 Zoning Formula Model Three	212



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter covered the background of the study with a specific brief review of the origin of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), while full details has been discussed in the chapter three of this work. The chapter also pays attention to the statement of the research problem, followed by research questions, objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study, literature review, research methodology and chapterization of the study.

1.2 Background to the Study

According to African Union (2014) at the 2000 Lome Summit, the African Union's Constitutive Act was adopted and the AU refocused from traditional security to more broad areas as covered by non-traditional security by establishing different organs within the AU. The Assembly is charged with the responsibility of overseeing the activities of AU while the organ constitutes the Heads of State and Government of the African countries, the Peace and Security Council (PSC) with the responsibility of ensuring peace, security and political stability of the African countries through conflict prevention, management and resolution. In achieving these, the AU adopted the NEPAD programme initiatives in 2001.

Given this reality, NEPAD is an agency of the African Union charged with the responsibility of planning, coordinating, administering and implementing the programme initiatives of NEPAD as recommended by the apex body known as the Heads of State and Government Orientation Committee (NEPAD, 2014). The programme was initiated by the five African Heads of State and Government, and adopted in 2001 by the African Union. The five African leaders were President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria, President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt who were mandated to come up with a policy document as a programme initiatives posed to resolve the issues facing African states (NEPAD Annual Report, 2005).

As can be seen, the primary objectives of the NEPAD among other secondary objectives are; to eradicate poverty in the continent of Africa, to place the countries of Africa on a path of sustainable growth and development which would be done individually and collectively, to put to an end the marginalization of the African continent in the global economy through the integration of the African countries in the globalization process, as well as increasing the empowerment of women in all the fields of human endeavor (NEPAD, 2014). By so doing, NEPAD has set her priorities in order to achieve the set primary objectives such as peace and security, capacity building, democracy and good political governance, economic governance as well as corporate governance, regional integration and cooperation.

More so, NEPAD Annual Report (2005) and NEPAD (2015) reveals that, other objectives of NEPAD include increased investment through policy reforms in such areas as Agriculture, Human development through enhancement of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Education, Health, Water and Sanitation, Mining, Manufacturing, Infrastructure, Science and Technology, and the issue of Resource Mobilization. NEPAD (2014) notes that, for NEPAD to achieve the set goals and objectives, there is a hierarchy in the organization of NEPAD as an institution or agency of the AU, whose highest authority is the AU Assembly, then the HSGOC which reports to the AU Assembly on the progress of NEPAD programme implementation and challenges that face the NEPAD Agency.

Likewise, NEPAD Nigeria was launched in 2001, during the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo. NEPAD has engaged in bringing together various stakeholders with the aim of achieving her set goals and objectives through partnership with both local and international partners from all works ranging from the business sector, to environmental, science and technology, Human Resources Development, Agriculture, Rural development, Industry, and as well as peace and security sector (NEPAD Business Group- Nigeria, 2014). Former President Olusegun Obasanjo who was one of the initiator of the NEPAD programme ruled the country from 1999 to 2007. During this period, the issue of Boko Haram attacks on the government and the people was not in place even though they were in existence as of 2003 (Carl LeVan, 2013). Olusegun Obasanjo, after his tenure as the president handed over to President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua on the 29th of May, 2007. As is evident, during the leadership of President

Yar'Adua, the issue of the Niger Delta crisis was a serious threat to Nigeria, the President quickly addressed the problem by granting them amnesty which made the militants to hand over their weapons against the government of Nigeria for the purpose of restoring peace and security in the country (Isumonah, 2012).

As can be seen, NEPAD Nigeria (2010) further reveals that, in the case of the Niger-Delta crisis in which the militants took arms against the government, there were issues such as neglect in providing adequate social amenities in region, devastation of the lands and the Niger-Delta waterways due to oil exploration by the oil companies. Other issues include the denial of land ownership by the government, passing of unjust laws preventing the indigenous people of Niger-Delta the ownership of their land. As such, the government enacted laws nationalizing all lands and mineral resources as belonging to the federal government of Nigeria. That serves as the root causes of the Niger Delta conflict.

Similarly, NEPAD through her advisory role on Peace and Security sustainability in Nigeria, undertook a study on the Niger-Delta conflict with the view of understanding the root causes of the conflict thereby bridging the gap through recommendations to the Federal Government of Nigeria for proper consideration and further implementation by the government for the purpose of restoring peace, security and stability of the Niger-Delta region. As such, NEPAD Nigeria (2010) noted that, key issues that were demanded by the Niger-Delta people were not adequately addressed by the government such as the issue of oil and gas resources control by the Niger-Delta people, greater

representation of the Niger-Delta people at the Federal level, economic empowerment, environmental degradation and infrastructure development.

In much the same way, NEPAD therefore, after a thorough study on the Niger-Delta conflict made recommendations to the Federal Government of Nigeria on how the issues could be addressed for peace and security restoration in the region. Through the advisory role of NEPAD on Peace and Security sustainability in Nigeria, they made recommendations to the Federal Government to resolve the Niger-Delta conflict using a multi-faceted strategy in addressing the issues as it encompasses political dimension, economic and cultural dimension as well as environmental aspects. Other recommendations by NEPAD on how the federal government to solve the problems includes, developing an early-warning mechanisms to detect and prevent potential conflict at all levels of government (NEPAD Nigeria, 2010).

All in all, NEPAD Nigeria (2010) reveals that recommendations were taken into consideration by then President Yar'Adua led government as they outlined the issues and they addressed it through multi-faceted approach. According to Onukwugha, Abo and Oche (2015) the Yar'Adua led government granted amnesty to the Niger-Delta militants in order for them to drop their arms against the government of Nigeria on the 25th of June, 2009. The government duly recognized the problems in the region and she provided holistic solutions to the issues that bedeviled the region. Through the amnesty programme, about 30,000 youths were enrolled and the militants dropped their arms as they were pardoned by the government. Some of those who dropped their arms were

sent outside Nigeria to acquire higher education in United States of America, United Kingdom, Russia, India, Israel Ukraine and South Africa (Onukwugha, Abo and Oche, 2015).

It is surprising then, when the Niger Delta militants dropped their weapons in August 2009, the Boko Haram started their attacks on the federal government to install an Islamic state in Nigeria when Yar'Adua was still the President and alive as at that period. He then ordered the arrest of the Boko Haram leader Mohammed Yusuf who was later killed by the Nigerian Police (LeVan, 2013). At this stage the Boko Haram militant stopped their activities and attacks on the government after some of them were arrested while some were killed including their leader.

Given this reality, President Yar'Adua later had health challenges and he died on the 5th of May, 2010. After his death, the Vice President was sworn in on the 6th of May, 2010 as the President of Nigeria, in the person of Goodluck Jonathan. When the new President completed the tenure of the late president Yar'Adua from 2007 to 2011, he then contested for President under the Peoples Democratic Party and he won the election. After the elections, crisis started in the Northern part of the country considering the fact that Jonathan who won the elections was from the Southern part of country. That made him to become the second Southerner/Christian to rule Nigeria since the return of democratic rule from the military led government between the periods of 1983 to 1999 (Campbell, 2014; Joseph, 2014).

As is evident, the country since 2011 especially after the elections has experienced insecurity as a result of the activities of the Boko Haram Islamic sect whose philosophy remains an outright and total reject of western education, and its culture. They are known as Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-jihad, this therefore, means that (*people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teaching and jihad*) with the aim of Islamizing the Nigerian state especially the Northern region with all efforts and means available to them as well as the human cost involved. For this reason, their activities include burning of people's houses, churches and public buildings, killing of innocent souls including but not limited to both Christians and Muslims, attacks on security operatives and schools which includes bombing of structures (Ekereke, 2013).

Unfortunately, many people have been killed since the beginning of insecurity challenges posed by the Boko Haram activities in Nigeria. Several attacks are carried out by the members of the Boko Haram across the Northern states such as Adamawa, Borno, Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna, Yobe, Niger, Plateau, Gombe, and Taraba etc. According to *Premium Times* (2014, May 17) during the Summit held in France on the 17th of May, 2014 which was hosted by the French President, Francois Hollande, the President of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan, made known that over 12,000 people have been killed from series of attacks by the Boko Haram on the people and the government of Nigeria. They have staged some of their attacks in the market places, bombing of motor parks where hundreds of people are affected, both killing and abduction of school students in secondary schools as seen in Chibok, Borno State.

In a nutshell, the conflict between the Boko Haram and the Nigerian government has become a source of great insecurity to Nigeria since President Goodluck Jonathan's administration from 2010 to 2015. NEPAD as an Agency of the African Union have set up her objectives and in achieving the set objectives, outlined her priorities of which peace and security is the first priority as mentioned earlier. The need to resolve the conflict and to restore peace and security in Nigeria arises. What role has NEPAD Nigeria played in resolving the Boko Haram attacks on the people and government? As an institution, NEPAD is charged with the responsibility of repositioning Africa on a path of sustainable development and has one of its priorities, principles and strategic focus on peace and security (NEPAD, 2005). Through the collaboration with the African Union and other partners both local and international, NEPAD has positioned herself in resolving conflicts through addressing socio-economic challenges within and among the African states so as to obtain peace and political stability in such countries.

Meanwhile, the joint AU/NEPAD activities on Peace and Security Architecture have engaged in sustaining peace among the African States through their collaboration with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), charged with the responsibility of conflict prevention, conflict management and conflict resolution for the purpose of obtaining peace and security (AU/NEPAD, 2009). Similarly, it is therefore, relevant to discuss this issue of security dynamics in line with the NEPAD's objective of resolving conflicts, political instability, thereby placing Africa on the path of sustainable

development (NEPAD, 2001; NEPAD Nigeria, 2010). To this end, Nigeria is an African country that is faced with conflicts and security challenges needed to be addressed. The implementation of NEPAD programme in Nigeria focuses on so many issues such as the Agriculture, Infrastructure, Resources Mobilization, Health, Education, Science and Technology, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Environment, Regional Co-operation and Integration of which a peaceful environment and political stability are needed in the country for the furtherance of these programmes.

Accordingly, the country had gone through a series of challenges in the past such as the Civil War, which lasted for three years from 1967 to 1970, the issue of the Niger-Delta conflict, as well as series of coups and counter coups during the military rule. More so, the military handed over the country to the civilians in 1999 without resolving the ethno-religious crisis as well as the regional (North and South divide) crisis to the democratic rule. In chapter four of this research work, we will discuss in detail these issues that led to the rise of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria with the aim of proffering solutions. In much the same way, the fears of military takeover of the present government and disintegration of the country remains in the hearts and minds of the people since the attacks on the people and government by the Boko Haram sect is yet to be resolved for the purpose of obtaining lasting peace and political stability in the country. People no longer move freely especially in states such as Borno, Yobe and Adamawa because of the unknown. Even in Abuja, the Federal Capital of Nigeria, the April 14th, 2014 bomb attack on the Nyanya motor park which killed many people over fifty (50) in the heart of the Abuja, this has led to a psychological trauma. The attack was condemned by the

African Union through the leadership of the AU Commission in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Sotunde, 2014).

Likewise, the Nigerian six geopolitical zones are all on the same page in relation to the quest for power and rotation of the presidency. The agitations from each of the zones to occupy the presidency serve as a threat to national peace and security. The country has witnessed these agitations and quest for power both in the Northern part of the country and Southern part. In the past, the South-West agitated for the position of the president after the 1993 presidential elections were annulled by the former leader General Babangida. That resulted the zoning of the position of president to the South-West during the return to democratic rule which brought in President Olusegun Obasanjo 1999-2007 (Anifowose and Enemuo, 2008).

With this mind, the South-East zone, purely made up of the Igbo people also agitates for Igbo led president of Nigeria since after the civil war in 1970. However, their agitation serves a serious threat to Nigeria's peace and security as they are calling for secession even to an extent of Nnamdi Kanu having a radio station known as Radio Biafra which aims at broadcasting messages that would promote disintegration of the Igbo people from Nigeria to form their entity called Republic of Biafra (Igbokwe, 2015).

Similarly, the South-South zone on the other hand, is the zone that produced President Jonathan who hails from Bayelsa State. In addition, the agitations of the South-South zone (Niger-Delta region) were based on the call for the government to address the

social-economic challenges that faced their region despite their contribution to Nigeria's national growth and development. Other challenges also include unemployment of the youths from the region, environmental degradation, illiteracy, poverty and backwardness of their place due to neglect on the part of the government and the oil companies.

More so, the attention of the Nigerian government was later shifted to the South-South zone to address the issues that were raised by the Niger-Delta militants. President Yar'Adua granted amnesty to the Niger-Delta militants and they dropped their arms against the Federal Government of Nigeria. Again, a political slot was given to the South-South zone in 2007 when the position of the Vice-President was zoned to them. That gave the opportunity for Goodluck Jonathan to run with Yar'Adua from the North-West during the 2007 presidential elections and they were elected into office. Unfortunately, Yar'Adua later died and Jonathan took over power. Jonathan later contested 2011 presidential elections and won, the Ex-Niger Delta militant in the person of Asari Dokubo stood for him against the North. There arose another form of agitation and threat to Nigeria's peace and security that President Jonathan should be allowed by the North to rule Nigeria for two terms from 2011-2019, but the North thought otherwise (Olorok, 2013).

Given this reality, Asari Dokubo went on threatening the Nigerian State that the country would become history if there is any form of arrest made on him and if President Jonathan would not be re-elected in 2015. He further argued that, the Nigerian State would have no peace throughout the country. More so, it was time for the South-South

to rule Nigeria since they have never been president from 1960-2010 until Jonathan came to power as Nigeria's president (Onogu, 2013). In his argument, Lawal Kaita, a Northerner, had threatened Nigeria's break-up and war, that they would make the country ungovernable for President Jonathan, if he goes ahead to contest in 2011 and even if he won the election. As such, Asari Dokubo asserts that, the Boko Haram attack in Nigeria is a response to the call made by Lawal Kaita in 2010, that the North would make the country ungovernable for President Jonathan (Olorok, 2013).

For this reason, NEPAD played the advisory role on resolving conflict and restoring peace and security in the Niger-Delta region. In addition, NEPAD made recommendations to the Federal Government of Nigeria on how the insecurity challenges in the Niger-Delta region could be resolved through multi-faceted approach. Given the reality that, such multi-faceted approach would encompass political, social-economic, and environmental aspects in resolving the root causes of the Niger-Delta conflict (NEPAD Nigeria, 2010).

To sum up, the Federal Government on the other hand, granted Amnesty Programme to the Niger Delta militants and they dropped their arms against the government as well as they were sent outside Nigeria to received further higher education in countries such as US, UK, India, Ukraine, South Africa (Onukwugha, Agbo and Oche, 2015). However, regarding the Boko Haram conflict in the Northern part of the country, there is limited knowledge to what role NEPAD have played through her advisory and partnership role in solving the security dynamics in Nigeria which is going to be the focus of this study.

The Boko Haram conflict has led to the killings of so many people in Nigeria and other African countries such as Chad, Niger, and Cameroon.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The failure by the Nigerian Government to address socio-economic challenges is contributing to the security challenges posed by the Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants. Unless these socio-economic challenges are reversed, the lives of Nigerians as well as key sectors of the country will be affected by the activities of the Boko Haram. Previous research on the security challenges facing Nigeria have tended to focus on the military and political dynamics (Panter-Brick, 1970; McGowan, 2005; Ibrahim, 2007; Jackson, 2007; Agbiboa, 2011; Isumonah, 2012). Minimal research attention has been directed towards the socio-economic context of the security praxis confronting Nigeria. By examining multiple contexts including the role of NEPAD, as well as using qualitative approaches, we can better understand the security challenges facing the Nigerian State in recent years. As a result, policy makers and scholars can plan interventions to prevent or minimize the security threats posed by the Boko Haram insurgency.

1.4 Research Questions

This research seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1) How did the administrations of Presidents Yar'Adua and Jonathan affected the security praxis in Nigeria?

- 2) To what extent has NEPAD been successful in planning interventions that are intended to minimize the security threats posed by the Boko Haram?
- 3) What are the effects of addressing socio-economic challenges on the long-range security environment in Nigeria?
- 4) What are the specific factors to be considered in planning interventions to mitigate the impact of the Boko Haram?

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine the implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) programme in Nigeria, with specific focus on the security dynamics 2009-2014; regarding the strategic plan of having peaceful and secured environment for the purpose of enhancing political stability, peace and security of the people and territorial integrity of the country Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study include the following:

- 1) To examine how the administrations of Presidents Yar'Adua and Jonathan affected the security praxis in Nigeria.
- 2) To analyse the role of NEPAD in planning and interventions that are intended to minimize the security threats posed by the Boko Haram.
- 3) To assess the impacts of efforts aimed at addressing socio-economic challenges on the long-range security environment in Nigeria.
- 4) To identify the specific factors that should be considered in planning interventions to mitigate the impact of the Boko Haram in the Nigerian security situation.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study attempts to proffer measures that should be taken to address these insecurity problems affecting the Nigerian state so as to pave way for the restoration of peace, security and political stability of the country where the people would remain united as one Nigeria. This study examined the regional and ethno-religious divide in Nigeria in which the current insecurity challenges triggered by the activities of the Boko Haram attacks is situated.

This would also help the policy makers in the field of peace and security to emulate Nigeria especially countries that may be facing similar challenges. It would also help NEPAD as an agency of the African Union in resolving the conflicts in other African countries that may be or are going through similar difficulties. It would also contribute to the body of knowledge on issues relating to peace and security studies. The study also contributes to knowledge on the theoretical perspective using the integration theory on how it would strengthen the peaceful co-existence of the people through their national integration. The work also made use of the frustration-aggression theory in explaining the issues on why the youths engage in Boko Haram activities leading to attacks on the people and the government of Nigeria. The theories assisted in understanding the insecurity issues and how to tackle the security challenges that faces Nigeria.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study lies within the framework of NEPAD Nigeria, and it covers the Fourth Republic from 1999 to 2014 during the return to democratic rule in Nigeria. The

study has paid specific attention to Yar'Adua and Jonathan's administration 2009-2014 with the fact that the worsening of security challenges due to the Boko Haram attacks started in 2009 and it was during President Yar'Adua administration. After his death in 2010, President Jonathan took over the government and insecurity challenges triggered by Boko Haram insurgents. In 2014, more videos were released by the group to why they are attacking the people and the government of Nigeria which the work aimed to use as part of the sources of data collection in giving deeper understanding to the work.

1.8 Research Method

1.8.1 Research Philosophy

Research philosophy can also be refers to as research paradigm, which can be defined as the belief that guides the conduct of a research (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Research philosophy can be grouped into two types, namely, interpretive and positivist paradigm (Bell and Bryman, 2007). In addition, interpretive paradigm, can also be referred to as constructivist or anti- positivist, is an underpinning philosophy of a Mathematician and German Philosopher, Edmund Husserl from 1859-1938 (Wright, 2009). The interpretive assumption is that, human life can be studied through observation, interview, case studies and others (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). More so, interpretivists are of the opinion that social reality is socially constructed and subjective, with both participants and the researcher relating to know the phenomenon from the perspective of the individual. In view of the foregoing, therefore, this study adopts interpretivist paradigm to better understand the philosophy behind the conduct of the research work.

1.8.2 Methodological Choice

This thesis made use of qualitative method for the purpose of gathering and interpreting data. The choice of choosing the qualitative method is to enhance in-depth knowledge on the subject matter. The qualitative research design is a method of research which is carried out through a procedure that produces results in words rather than statistics (Bello, 2007). Such research is also based on behaviour, people's lives functioning of organization as well as cultural phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The choice of qualitative method in this research is also to give each participant the avenue to respond to questions in his/her own words. The method relates to the nature of the research problem which is appropriate for investigation in regards to the role of NEPAD in addressing the socio-economic challenges as security threat to Nigeria.

1.8.3 Research Design

In conducting a research, Merriam (2009) notes that research design involves strategy, plan and the structure of conducting a research project for the purpose of a specific study. More so, Collins (2004) suggest that design is developed as a means of carrying out formative research to test or refine knowledge based on modalities derived from previous research. Creswell (2008) opined four proposals for research design, these are: epistemology, the theoretical stance, methodology and procedure.

1.8.4 Sampling Strategy

The target population of this research work consisted of personnel's working for NEPAD at different levels of governance which includes the federal and the states to

reflect the zonal representation of the country while the federal constitutes a unit of integration of the whole. Those in charge of the policy formulation and implementation of the NEPAD programme, including the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation; Department of Programmes, Development and Implementation; Department of African Peer Review Mechanism/Governance, State Coordinators, Directors and those from academics were interviewed.

According to NEPAD Nigeria, (2010), the thirty-six states of the federation have an established State Working Groups (SWGs), and State Steering Committees (SSCs). Therefore, the work made use of six selected States from each of the six zones of the federation namely: North-West, North-East, North-Central, South-West, South-East, and South-South. According to Creswell (1998) a minimum of five (5) and maximum of twenty-five (25) respondents are used in a qualitative research and when it reaches a point of saturation, the researcher can stop from there. This research work therefore, made use of a total number of ten (10) respondents from NEPAD stakeholders and those from academics were interviewed and we stopped at ten respondents due to the fact that the work reached a point of saturation where there was nothing new from the respondents in contributing to knowledge.

This research work therefore, made use of purposive research sampling. The work of Sekaran and Bougie (2013) purposive sampling curtails the generalizability of the findings as obtains in probability sampling. This is in view of the fact that only a sample of highly knowledgeable experts in such fields or areas that are required to be

interviewed for the purpose of gathering data for the conduct of the research. The purposive sampling design is a type of non-probability sampling which entails seeking and gaining access to individuals with the requisite wherewithal and expertise in terms of the experience, knowledge and the information that would be very useful in answering some of the research questions regarding the conduct of the study (Tongco, 2007).

1.8.5 Data Collection

The work made use of qualitative research which involves the use of primary and secondary sources of data collection. The uses of primary source of data are oral, semi-structured and unstructured. Archival records such as videos were also used as sources of data collection in this research. This means some of the videos that were released by the Boko Haram were also used as source of primary data collection. The secondary data collection comprised of library sources, Newspapers, documents, briefings, journals, articles, internet, memoranda, round table discussion papers, textbooks, and gazettes among others.

1.8.6 Data Analysis Technique

This research work therefore, employed historical and interpretative method of discourse analysis with the available research materials and transcription of data sources for reliability and to have deeper understanding of this research work. The issue of zoning or rotational presidency in Nigeria has a historical background which it was designed to solve the problems relating to religion, ethnicity and geopolitical

arrangement in the governance of the Nigerian State (Akinboye and Anifowose, 2008; Ayantayo, 2009). In addressing these issues as it relates to the worsening Boko Haram threat to national security, this work gives a deeper understanding using the historical analysis.

1.9 Definition of Key Terms/Concepts

There are some of the concepts that will also be employed in this work to help analyze the research work such as the concept of conflict resolution, partnership, leadership, development, poverty and institution. However, some of these concepts will be given more explanation later in this work while the concept of Boko Haram, security and NEPAD Nigeria and security dynamics will be explained below.

1.9.1 Boko Haram

The Boko Haram insurgent group started their attacks on the Nigerian State in 2009 in the Northern part of the country. This work studies their activities against the country within the period of 2009-2014 as the underlined scope of the study. Many scholars have written on the Boko Haram security challenges while this work is focused on NEPAD's role in partnering with her partners on solving these challenges such as unemployment, illiteracy, poverty, and cases of internally displaced persons which are caused by the Boko Haram (Aghedo and Osumah, 2014; Dike, 2014; Olaiya, 2014; NEPAD Nigeria, 2010).

1.9.2 Security

Collins (2007) in his work focused on the broadening of security which covers diverse areas of security such as military security, food security, human security, environment security, health security, social security, which are traditional and non-traditional security approach. However, the work is purely concerned with non-traditional security as it relate to societal security on issues such as religion, ethnic and geopolitical identities on how it affects human security and the territorial security of Nigerian state. Collins (2007) in his work on contemporary security studies cited the work of Buzan (1991) on the broadening of the concept of security which goes beyond military security to non-traditional security as it is factored on societal security, economic security, political security and environmental security. The societal security deals with the sustainable development of traditional patterns such religious, ethnic and national identities.

1.9.3 NEPAD Nigeria

NEPAD exist at the continental level and for her programme initiatives to be achieved there is need for her domestication at the country level which it is known as NEPAD Nigeria. This involves the NEPAD's Strategic Plan of tackling the security challenges in Nigeria through the process of initiating and coordinating ideas with her partners in Nigeria. NEPAD Nigeria is refers to the domestication of the NEPAD programme initiative in Nigeria, and it also covers the NEPAD as an agency of the African Union working in Nigeria (NEPAD, 2001; NEPAD Nigeria, 2010; NEPAD Nigeria, 2014).

1.9.4 Security Dynamics

The security dynamics of Nigeria in this research covers both the issue of zoning of the presidency and activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria from the period of 2009 to 2014 under study, with the aim of knowing what role the NEPAD has played in tackling the security challenges. In the past, NEPAD played a vital role on the Niger Delta crisis and made recommendations for its resolution (NEPAD Nigeria, 2010).

1.10 Chapterization

In this work, *the chapter one: Introduction* is the beginning and the first chapter of this research work which covers the introduction, background to the study, statement of the problem, research question, objective of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study, research method, definition of terms/concepts and organization of chapters.

The *chapter two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework* of the research work focused on the review of literature, research gap and theories that are used in this research. The work researched on the integration theory and non-traditional security nexus thereby covering the role of geopolitical zones, ethnicity, religion, and youth employments as it relates to integration theory and non-traditional security dynamics in Nigeria. The chapter also made use of the frustration-aggression theory to illustrate the factors such as unemployment, poverty and illiteracy which motivates the youths in fighting against the Nigerian state.

In chapter three: The Domestication of NEPAD in Nigeria, the research work covered historical evolution of NEPAD tracing it from the origin of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to the repositioning of OAU to African Union. The chapter further studied the formation of NEPAD and the domestication of NEPAD in Nigeria, including her primary objectives, principles and values. It further expanded to the role of African Peer Review Mechanism as a body formed for the purpose of monitoring and evaluation of the NEPAD initiatives on her achievement, and programme implementation in Nigeria. This chapter also drew studies on the role of NEPAD in implementing peace and security objective.

Chapter four: The Security Dynamics of Nigeria 2009-2014: The Boko Haram Insurgency began with tracing the Boko Haram security dynamics 2009-2014 under the leadership of the former administration of the late President Yar'Adua and the President Jonathan's led government. The chapter also studies the Boko Haram raised issues against the government and the people of Nigeria. It also drew some of the attacks that were carried out by the Boko Haram during the period under study.

Chapter five: NEPAD's Blueprint for Solving the Security Crisis in Northern Nigeria, the research work in this chapter focused on the NEPAD's blue print for solving the security crisis posed by the Boko Haram security challenges in Nigeria. This chapter also introduced zoning formula as a model in conflict resolution and it also proffer measures that would address the present crisis posed by the Boko Haram.

Chapter six: The Impact of NEPAD's Activities on Nigeria's Security Praxis, this research chapter focused on the impact of NEPAD's plan in solving the crisis as well as the areas of successes and failures.

Chapter seven: Conclusion, the chapter drew the summary of research findings, implications, limitations, recommendations for future research and concluding observations.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The chapter two of this research work has focused on the literature review and the chapter also attempts to apply integration theory within a state. Given that, the Nigerian state being the largest state in Africa in terms of population estimated at 185 million (World Bank, 2017). The chapter also made use of the frustration-aggression theory in explaining why the youths engage in the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group in Nigeria. It is noted that, by addressing socio-economic challenges facing the country through NEPAD, the stability and unity of the country will be sustained.

2.2 Literature Review

An extensive literature review was undertaken in this research. In this respect *table 2.1* provides an overview of some of the key literature reviewed in this study.

Table 2.1

Summary of Previous Studies on NEPAD, Peace and Security in Nigeria

S/N	Author / Year	Title	Major Objective	Area/aspect of NEPAD	Research Method And Theory	Major Findings	Suggestion for Future Research
1	Mangu, A. M. (2014)	The African Union and the promotion of democracy and good political governance under the African Peer-Review Mechanism: 10 years on	The paper has assessed the achievements of both AU and APRM in regards to legal and political perspective of NEPAD'S initiative on democracy and good political governance	African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)	Content analysis.	The APRM should be funded by African governments to avoid the assessment of foreigners who will dictate to Africans in the area of governance. Should be committed to good governance.	N/A
2	Dike, V. E. (2014)	Leadership and the Nigerian Economy	The paper focused on the issues that prevent the development of human capital and national development in Nigeria.	Political Economy	Review of previous literature. The work used human capital theory	It was found that poor leadership, lack of good governance, poor human capital investment, poor infrastructure, and unemployment are the problems to the growth and development of Nigerian Economy. Thus, becoming an industrialized nation remains difficult.	N/A
3	Aghedo, I. and Osumah, O.	Insurgency in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of Niger Delta and Boko Haram	The work focused on the two groups of militancy in Nigeria to proffer suggestions for development of the	Peace and Security	The use of content analysis and empirical	It was found that the Boko Haram attacked the United Nations building in Abuja, in 2011, August 26 for the	N/A

	(2014)	Haram Uprisings	Nigerian polity where it will remain relevant to its responsibilities.		data from the British Council as source for analytical poverty indicative	purpose of protesting against US in assisting Nigeria against terrorism while for the Niger Delta militants sought their attacks on oil companies, oil facilities and military force. However, both groups are basically formed as a result of poor governance.	
4	Basedau, M., Pfeiffer, B. and Vullers, J. (2014)	Bad Religion? Religion, Collective Action, and the Onset of Armed Conflict in Developing Countries.	The paper search to fill the gap to which religion is connected to armed conflict	Peace and security	Quantitative research using empirical data. The work made use of Group theory.	Religious factors could be used in fueling religious and potential armed conflict, however, issues like ethnic discrimination has a religious undertone as a the gap between identities which could serves as a tool in fueling religious conflict.	The findings suggest that many challenges and opportunities for future research on the link between Religion and conflict remain.
5	Dowd, R. A. (2014)	Religious Diversity and Religious Tolerance: Lessons from Nigeria	The paper focused on subnational variation such as religious diversity	Peace and Security	Qualitative research using in-depth interviews	Religious segregation has affected religious tolerance in Nigeria	Future research would also do well to include longitudinal studies. In other words, further studies should assess whether and how changes in the religious diversity of settings affects the

						tolerance content preached by the same religious leader across time.	
7	Umukoro, N. (2014)	Democracy and Inequality in Nigeria	The paper sought to examine the Nigeria's Fourth Republic in view of a democratic government and the impact of inequality which create a wide gap between the rich and the poor, thereby increasing the high level of poverty in the Nigerian polity.	Socio-political	Use of content analysis and empirical data from previous studies	It was found that the issues that gives rise to inequality in Nigeria are: the pattern of government spending as well as cost of governance in Nigeria; lack of political commitment to good governance; lack of political participation and involvement of the citizenry in the formulation as well as implementation of the policies that affects their wellbeing; corruption in different dimensions such as converting public funds to personal/private use, diversion of resources; leadership problem; this has thus neglected the bridging of inequality gap in Nigeria	N/A
8	Bach, D. C. (2013)	South African foreign policy in the post-Mbeki period in Africa	The paper seeks to examine the continent Africa in International Relations with a broad view of its relations outside the continent and	Political Economy	Use of content analysis	Africa has provided a ground for international integration through her provision of	N/A

		International Relations: The Frontier as Concept and Metaphor	the new frontier such as NEPAD in the global economy.			commodities, and integration through her initiatives such as NEPAD that constitutes the provision of emerging economies.	
9	Mayaki , I. A. (2013)	Africa's Innovation in Governance through 10 Years of the African Peer Review Mechanism	The paper examines the performance of APRM within the period of 10 years 2003 to 2013.	APRM	Paper presented at the 68 th UN General Assembly	The government needs to showcase transparency with results of their governance to meet the demands of their people, state-building is the combination of other actors not just locally but it includes the development through partnership with continental, regional and global communities.	N/A
10	Hill, J. N. C (2013)	Religious Extremism in Northern Nigeria Past and Present: Parallels between the Pseudo-Tijanis and Boko Haram	The paper examines both the past and present Islamic groups as Pseudo-Tijanis and Boko Haram that affect the Northern Nigeria thereby causing non-peaceful existence of the North.	Peace and Security	Use of content analysis	The Boko Haram is also allegedly linked to other groups such as Al Qaeda, and Al Shabaab which operates in Somalia. They had a sanctuary in Nigeria's bordering countries such as Chad and Niger.	N/A
11	Carl LeVan, A. (2013)	Sectarian Rebellions in Post-Transition Nigeria Compared	The paper examines the historical background of Boko Haram and its activities as well as a comparison of the Niger-	Peace and Security	Use of Content analysis and conduct of	The prosecution of Mohammed Yusuf's (Founder of Boko Haram) Killers would have paved way for	N/A

		Delta militants in Nigeria.		interviews	resolution with the Boko Haram. Again, that the Nigerian government has spent nearly a quarter of the Nation's budget on security without success. However, Amnesty was given to the Niger-Delta rebels as a solution to the crisis in the Niger-Delta Region. Some politicians had also called for the same policy to be applied to the Boko Haram group for a cease-fire.		
12	Yusuf, O. H. (2013)	Harvest of Violence: the neglect of basic rights and the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria	The paper examines the gap in governance which in turn promotes an environment for the youths to be recruited as insurgents.	Peace and Security	Use of content analysis. The work made use of frustration-aggression theory as well as critical theory.	It was found that poverty breeds violence, political corruption also creates rooms for violence. The government's inability to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor has promoted an environment for the youths to be recruited into the membership of the Boko Haram group.	N/A
13	Michail of, S. (2013)	Africa 2050: Jobs and Prosperity in a Multipolar Global Economy-	The work examines Africa from the context of its diversity and fragility as well as the opportunities therein. It also looks at the reasons while Africa finds	Political Economy, Peace and Security	Use of content analysis. The work made use of	African countries have undergone a series of fragility and conflict. Thus looking at Africa in 2050 should be a place where such issues	N/A

		Moving out of Fragility and Conflict	it difficult to embrace a well-functioning democracy.			extractive economic and political institutions theory.	that bedeviled the continent should be wiped out to achieve the desired good.	
14	Chambers, D. B. (2013)	<i>There was A Country: Achebe's Final work</i>	The work looks at Achebe's final work with respect to Biafra civil war in Nigeria and the marginalization of the Igbo people in Nigeria	Peace and security	Book review	The Achebe's final work reviewed how the Igbo has been marginalized after the 1967-1970 civil war which the former leader sought for integration of the Igbo people into the Nigerian polity via the 'no victor, no vanquished' slogan. However, the leaders have failed because of corruption and incompetent.	N/A	
15	Ekwe-Ekwe, H. (2013)	<i>The Achebean Restoration</i>	A comprise of Chinua Achebe's work in his famous book ' <i>Things fall Apart</i> ' to review the Biafra war of 1967-1970 and the current attacks on the Igbo's in the Northern part of the country by the Boko Haram	Peace and Security	Book Review	That Boko Haram is everywhere in Jonathan's government, from the Executive, the Legislative and to the Judiciary, as well as the Security Forces. Also the Igbo are the most affected in the attacks launched by the Boko Haram	N/A	
16	Hansen , W. W. and	Fanon, the Wretched and Boko Haram	Examines the concept of Wretched as a tool in explaining Boko Haram's	Peace and Security	Review of extensive literatures	Nigerian national identity suffers as a result of ethno-	N/A	

	Musa, U. A. (2013)		emergence in Nigeria, while relating the Fanon's perception of the European colonization and the fight for political independence of Algerian war between 1954-1962			religious weakness rather than strong national identity.	
17	Agbibio a, D. E. (2013)	Ethno-religious Conflicts and the Elusive Quest for National Identity in Nigeria	To examine the Nigerian state with the view of having a true national identity within a country with persistent of ethno-religious conflict that often turned into violence	Peace and Security	Extensive review of previous literature. The work made use of social identity theory.	Religion is the major tool used in the division of the people while past leaders like Ibrahim Babangida used it in registering Nigeria under the Organization of Islamic Country (OIC) and thus undermined the fact that Nigeria is a multi-religious country rather than placing her as a single religious country. The issue of ethnicity and marginalization of minority ethnic groups remains a problem to national identity	N/A
18	Agbibio a, D. E. and Maiang wa, B. (2013)	Boko Haram, Religious Violence, and the Crisis of National Identity in Nigeria: Towards a Non-killing Approach	To seek an approach from a killing to non-killing with the view of resolving the trend of violence in Northern Nigeria	Peace and Security	Use of content analysis. The work made use of non-killing theory.	Boko Haram attacks goes beyond killing and bombing of Churches as in the case of St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Madala, Suleja Local Government Area of Niger State to attack on International Institutions such as	N/A

						United Nations building in Abuja on the 23 August, 2011. Many diplomats and Nigerian citizens working with the UN in Abuja were killed from that attack.	
19	Bartusevicius, H. (2013)	The Inequality-Conflict nexus Re-examined: Income, Education and Popular Rebellions	It focused on bridging the gap between inequality and popular rebellions	Peace and Security	Use of empirical data and review of previous literature. Theory of relative deprivation was used in the research work.	The study shows that people are motivated to carry arms when they are unequal in terms of lack of access to education, health facilities and as well as social services. It also includes lack of opportunity to participate in politics.	Further studies should consider controlling for the distribution of income Whenever the role of the absolute income in conflict is analyzed.
20	Ndlovu - Gatshe ni, S. J. (2012)	Beyond the Equator There are No Sins: Coloniality and Violence in Africa.	The study examines the issues related to violence in Africa through the periods of pre-colonial, colonial, as well as post-colonial while relating to Congo, the German colonial genocide and South African neo-apartheid.	Peace and Security	Content analysis	It was found among others, that violence in African countries emulates from differences in races, ethnicities, tribes and regions while an understanding of violence is brought into knowledge tracing the colonial, post-colonial and the understanding of violence between the capitalist and the socialist ideologies.	N/A
21	Solomo	Counter-	The paper examines the	Peace and	Use of	It was found that the	N/A

	n, H. (2012)	Terrorism in Nigeria	in root causes why the present administration finds it difficult in obtaining successful counter-terrorism approach to Boko Haram's attacks on the Nigerian polity.	Security	content analysis	deep problems of countering the Boko Haram attacks goes more difficult as the group has her sympathizers are right within the Jonathan's government: some in the executive arm of government, some in the legislative arm of government and as well as the Judiciary arm which becomes so difficult. It is also noted that the armed forces and as well as the police are also infiltrated by the Boko Haram and such people could be known as their sympathizers of the group.	
22	Onapajo, H., Uzodike, U. O., and Whetho, A. (2012)	Boko Haram in Nigeria: The International dimension	The work examines the Boko Haram and its nature of terrorism, it also seek to study the international links of Boko Haram.	Peace and Security	Content Analysis	It was found among others that, the Boko Haram has members outside Nigeria from countries such as Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Sudan. Also that the Boko Haram is worse than the Nigerian civil war 1967-1970.	N/A
23	Salaam, A. O. (2012)	Boko Haram: Beyond Religious Fanaticism	The paper examines some of the factors responsible to the youths vulnerability to insurgency in Nigeria	Peace and Security	Content analysis used	It was found that poverty, mass illiteracy, endemic corruption,	N/A

						unemployment, as well as socio-political marginalization are the factors which necessitated the availability of youths to engage in insurgency activities in Nigeria.	
24	Isumonah V. A. (2013)	Armed Society in the Niger Delta	The paper examines the issues relating to control of proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Nigeria's Niger Delta.	Peace and Security	Extensive review of previous Literature	It was found that lack of development of the Niger Delta region led to the carrying of arms against the government. The leaders of the Niger Delta States rather preferred to pay strongmen to protect their personal interest rather than engage in using the public resources to develop the region. A wasteful of resources in the name of securing the region from armed gangs became the order of the day. Resolving social and political issues that led to demand for arms should tackled by the government.	N/A
25	Magbalo, J. O. (2012)	Defence Transformation in Nigeria: A critical Issue for National	The paper focused on the transformation of Nigeria's defence in meeting the security challenges and the essence of securing the	Peace and Security	Review of previous literature.	The need to reposition the military to meet up the current challenges in securing the country requires re-equipping	N/A

		Security concerns	Nigerian state.			the military institution and implementing the a transformed military force would help in self-guarding the nation	
26	Aghedo, I. (2012)	Winning the War, Losing the Peace: Amnesty and the Challenges of Post-Conflict Peace-Building in the Niger Delta, Nigeria	The paper examines the no war, no peace as related to the Niger Delta region and the programmes of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR).	Peace and security	Use of content analysis	It was found that environmental insecurity, lack of Development of the region as well as human right violations were the reasons behind the Niger Delta crisis which the youths took arms against the Federal Government of Nigeria.	N/A
27	Rakodi, C. (2012)	Inter-Religious Violence and its Aftermath: Insights from Indian and Nigerian Cities	The paper seek to study the aftermath of inter-religious violence in the context of Christianity, Islam and Hinduism using two countries Nigeria and India	Peace and Security	Extensive literature review and use of data collection from previous research projects on the said subject.	It was found that inter-religious conflict occurs as result as different religious beliefs. It is then used as tool in the quest for power and resource control. This has caused destruction of properties and killing of people who are basically motivated by politicians for political gains haven known that region can serve as a tool to separate the masses. Since people with different identities stay together in complex environment.	N/A

28	Waldek , L. and Jayasek ara, S. (2011)	Boko Haram: the evolution of Islamist Extremism in Nigeria	The work focuses on an overview of the Boko Haram origin, its structure and as well as their activities in Nigeria	Peace and Security	Use of content analysis	It was found that members of Boko Haram got weapons through Chad, Niger and Cameroon. They do engage in activities such as bombing, usage of suicide bombing which has to do with the use of explosive detonation. There is a need to address the deep rooted problems in ethnic and religious faces.	N/A
29	Clover, J. (2010)	Food Security in Sub-Sahara Africa	To develop strategies and policies through effective implementation that will address the challenges of food security in Africa	Agriculture	Content analysis	For food security to be addressed there must be strategic approach covering the political, economic, social, and environmental factors. The driver must be the political will	N/A
30	Sidiropoulos, E. (2008)	South African foreign policy in the post-Mbeki period	The work examines the changes that will occur after Mbeki's resignation in September, 2008 and the foreign policy of South Africa.	Economy, Peace and Security	Content analysis	South Africa has supported the establishment of NEPAD, and regional institutions and substantial contribution to NEPAD and the AU. It is also noted that South Africa should create more jobs through building of investment opportunities.	N/A

31	Jackson, A. (2007)	Nigeria: Security Overview	A	It focuses on the role of Nigeria in regional peacekeeping and that of ECOWAS, as well as the security challenges in Nigeria.	Peace and Security	Content analysis	The ECOWAS countries suffer as a result of poor governance and weak institutions. Security challenges are factored as a product of government's failure to deliver basic services, as well as corruption, unemployment, poverty, crisis between the Christians and Muslim as threat to Nigeria's security.	N/A
32	Naidu, S. (2007)	The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC): What Does the Future Hold?		The objective of this paper is to examine the future of FOCAS if it can strengthen the relationship with the African countries and China as well as the dangers ahead.	Political Economy	Use of content analysis and empirical data	The dominance of China's involvement in Africa's policy may result to a state of political instability thereby leading to insecurity of Chinese firms.	N/A
33	China Report (2007)	White Paper on China's African Policy, January 2006		This is a document that prescribe the role of China in Africa's relations and her interest in Africa	It has covered all the areas of NEPAD programme	Primary Source through the use of policy framework	Through peaceful environment, there would be cooperation and development between China and Africa.	N/A
34	Ngwai nmbi, E. K. (2005)	Globalization and NEPAD's Development Perspective: Bridging the Digital Divide with Good Governance		It examines the level of international investment and then provide ways by which NEPAD can use in achieving the set objectives in relation to ICT	Information and Communication Technology (ICT)	Use of Content analysis	The use of ICT has made the world to become a global village thus, creating the need for African countries through the NEPAD initiative to own their local sites to control	N/A

their economy.

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---|---|--|-------------------------------|---|-----|
| 35 | Sonaik
e, S. A.
(2004) | The Internet and
the Dilemma of
Africa's
Development | The paper examines the
challenges of internet usage
in the African countries
especially in the rural areas
where connectivity is
neglected as well as the gap
between Africa and other
parts of the world such as
US and European countries | Information
and
Communicati
on
Technology
(ICT) | Content
analysis | The internet
connectivity remains
mostly in the cities of
African countries while
the villages lack such. | N/A |
| 36 | Tando,
Y.
(2004) | Economic
Policy and
Conflict in
Africa | Examines the linkages
between economic policy
and conflict in African. | Political
economy,
Peace and
Security | Use of
Content
analysis | When the interest of
the African people is
protected by the
government, then unity
can be sustained. | N/A |
-

In the light of understanding Africa's poor performance in the global economy when compared to other continents of the world such as Asia, Australia, North America and Europe, Ilorah (2004) observed that, it is due to inadequate investment opportunity, lack of jobs as well as inadequate basic social services which is attributed to poor management; thus NEPAD is posed as a vehicle of integrating Africa's economy through the pursuit of interest politics as well as involving multinational companies to contribute a certain percentage to NEPAD budget from their earnings within their NEPAD country of operation.

As a matter of fact, Aning, Addo, Birikorang and Sowatey (2004) sought to bring to the fore the need for human security and the contribution to the NEPAD and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in their work in engaging in political governance issues that relates to the protection of African people through conflict prevention and peacemaking processes which will thus create an environment for political stability of the African continent.

In addition, Adesina, Graham and Olukoshi (2006) observed that, NEPAD serves as an opportunity for the development of the African continent since her idea of development agenda is placed on a renewed debate, while also noting that NEPAD is a challenge considering her Africa's post-colonial experience with the Bretton Woods institutions especial in the 1980s. The work also pointed out the weakness of NEPAD for marketing itself more outside Africa to the donor countries/community than in Africa and her people whom the programme ought to serve.

In the same way, Chabal (2002) assert that, there are preconditions for development outlined in the NEPAD programme initiative such as the democracy and good governance which gives an understanding on how the African economic crisis that is widely spread and the political disorder in the continent can be tackled. Equally important, Chabal (2002) noted that some of the reasons why the African political space is underdeveloped compared to the Western politics is as a result of weak judiciary system, weak institutions and lack of political accountability on the part of the African leaders especially those who use their political powers for personal gains and interest amounted to some of the factors that led the continent backward instead of moving forward. The work also acknowledged that NEPAD is at risk considering the nature of African leaders who want to use political powers for personal interest, although noted NEPAD as Africa's development outstanding opportunity in her outlined programme initiative.

By the same token, Nabudere (2002) argued that NEPAD priorities as set in achieving her goals, there is need for a peaceful and secured African continent, and the problems within the said continent should be addressed by the African leaders. As such, conflicts amongst African countries should be tackled by the African leaders and shouldn't be left in the hands of foreign partners. The work also emphasized that good governance as demanded in Africa must be addressed. Dike (2014) observed that lack of good governance, poor leadership and unemployment posed as problems to growth and development. Under those circumstances, Akokpari (2004) in his work noted the OAU's failure to address crisis of governance, peace and development as some of the reasons

that led to the collapse of OAU which was sought to be transformed into Africa Union (AU). That later led to the establishment of NEPAD to promote amongst others, good governance in Africa. For the purpose of monitoring the progress and activities of NEPAD, the African Peer Review was then established.

According to Olukoshi (2002) corruption, nepotism, lack of willingness to procure goods and basic services were the issues surrounding the African economic crisis and these made the World Bank and IMF to present the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) to Africa; as such, the same governance programme is repackaged into the NEPAD programme only to be different from the SAP in relation to African ownership and the New Partnership ideology.

Consequently, in view of NEPAD partnership, Amuwo (2002) observed that NEPAD seek to go into partnership with the rich North (Europe and North America) and the poor South (Africa) based on mutual interest and shared responsibility through the process of political democracy, as well as engaging economic development of the African continent. This has further brought to the fore the question of good governance relating to strong institutions, the issue of the rule of law, public security, and a democratically elected government.

Generally speaking, on the issue of consultation between the African leaders and the civil society before the establishment of NEPAD, Adesina (2004) connotes that, NEPAD has faced criticism on the failure of the Africa leaders to consult the civil

society before the drafting of the NEPAD Programme initiative and such actions brought about the resistance to NEPAD by the civil society. However, NEPAD has integrated the civil society, the private sector, public sector, subnational and national government of the African countries and as well as the international community in the process of achieving her set goals, objectives and the programme initiatives through partnership (NEPAD Agency, 2015).

By and large, Cilliers (2003) observed that for NEPAD programme initiatives to be monitored on the progress that is made, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was set in place to monitor the processes and progress of the NEPAD set goals, this will inform both what has been achieved and the challenges therein, as well as fostering the leading processes of through evaluation of the programmes. As such the peace and security strategy is equally monitored by the APRM in order to sustain the political stability of the African countries through conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction (NEPAD, 2014; NEPAD Nigeria, 2010; NEPAD, 2001).

More so, the work of Mangu (2014) in relation to African Peer Review Mechanism and the African Union, the work assessed the achievements of the APRM and the AU regarding the legal and political perspectives of the NEPAD's initiative on democracy and good political governance and found that, in order to avoid the assessment of foreigners who will dictate to Africans in the area of governance, the APRM should be funded by African governments. The work further expressed, African leaders should be

committed to good governance. Dike (2014) on the other hand, argued that, poor leadership, lack of good governance, unemployment, poor infrastructure and poor human capital investment are problems to growth and development. As such, the issue of becoming an industrialized nation remains a problem.

On the whole, the issue of youth engagement in political violence from the perspective of ECOWAS Member States which Nigeria is also member, the work of Olaiya (2014) found out that, unemployment makes the youths available to participate in political violence. The youths are then mostly used in fighting war especially those that are unemployed and such control on the lives of the youths are carried out by the leaders of the militant groups. They (youths) are equally killed when the war is ongoing. Aghedo and Osumah (2014) in their work, they presented the case of the Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants in a comparative form drawing their findings in the work that, there is a usage of youths in engaging in militancy given the incidence of the Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria particularly, on the issue of bombing the United Nations building in Abuja, the capital of Nigeria, on the 26th of August, 2011 for the purpose of protesting against the US assistance to Nigeria in fighting against terrorism. The work further referred to the Niger Delta militants as they fought against oil companies, oil facilities and the military force, while attributing the formation of both groups to poor governance.

Given these points on religion and political conflict, the work of Basedau, Pfeiffer and Vullers (2014) examined religious factors could be used in fueling religious and

potential armed conflict. This is done when ethnic discrimination can be maneuvered through religious undertone as a gap between identities by the political actors and could be used as a tool in fueling the religious conflict. As such, Dowd (2014) agreed that, in the Nigerian context, religious segregation be it in the Northern or Southern part of the country has affected religious tolerance in Nigeria. When there is segregation in a community or country as the case may be, Umukoro (2014) argued this in relation to inequality as practiced in a democratically elected government. The work expressed that, issues that gives rise to inequality in Nigeria are rooted in the pattern of government spending as well as cost of governance in relation to lack of political commitment to good governance, and lack of political participation as well as involvement of the people in formulating the policies that affects their overall wellbeing.

As shown above, the work of Umukoro (2014) further explained that, poor leadership, issues relating to corrupt practices in different dimensions such as converting public funds to personal and private use by the leaders in power has failed and neglected bridging the inequality gap in Nigeria. In what way can Nigeria then move forward? An opportunity again presents her through the NEPAD partnership, Bach (2013) notes that, Africa through her NEPAD initiative provide another opportunity for international integration through partnership. This partnership is not only in the area of social-economic benefits, but it also covers of the area of democracy and political governance which encompasses peace and security initiative of the NEPAD programme (NEPAD Nigeria, 2010).

Equally important, Mayaki (2013) argued that, for African States to move forward, the government of African States needs to showcase transparency in meeting the demands of their people. Governance and State building is a combination all other actors through partnership with regional, continental and the global communities. On this note, Michailof (2013) assert the need to move out of conflict within the African Continent with the notion that, Africa countries have undergone a series of fragility and conflict which has brought down the progress as well as the growth of the said Africa States. The work posed to see how Africa by 2050 can be placed on the desired level where issues that bedeviled the development of African States can be wiped out in order to achieve the desired good for the people.

In addition, the issue of conflict within the context of this research, Yusuf (2013) argued that, the government's inability to bridge the gap between rich and the poor has promoted an environment for the youths to be recruited into the membership of the Boko Haram group since some of these members are poor, and driven within the breeds of poverty. The work also found out that, poverty breeds violence and political corruption which in turn creates conflict. Carl-LeVan (2013) asserts that, the prosecution of the former leader of the Boko Haram, Mohammed Yusuf's killers would pave way for the resolution of the conflict. That the government of Nigeria spent nearly a quarter of her budget on security yet without success since the issue could not be resolved by the Jonathan's led government.

As a matter of fact, the work of Hill (2013) focused on the religious extremism in relation to the study on Boko Haram, it was revealed in the work that, the Boko Haram is allegedly linked to other organizations such as Al Qaeda, and Al Shabaab which operates in Somalia. The work also asserts that the Boko Haram had a sanctuary Nigeria's bordering countries of Niger and the Republic of Chad. Carl-LeVan (2013) again argued that the Niger Delta rebels were granted Amnesty by the federal government of Nigeria in order to call for peace within the region and that became a tool in resolving the conflict in the Niger Delta. As such, the same Amnesty should be given to the Boko Haram members for cease-fire as called by the politicians especially from the North.

By and large, the Nigerian State is heterogeneous society as a result different ethnic nationalities both from the North and Southern part of the country from one time to another sought for the control of state power and resources. In this regards, Chambers (2013) connotes the views of Chinua Achebe's work; *There was A Country*: which reviews on how the Igbo people have been marginalized in Nigeria since after the civil war 1967-1970 when the Nigerian leader, General Yakubu Gowon sought to integrate the Igbo people into one Nigeria as an entity. The Nigerian government under the leadership of Gowon pronounced "No victor and No vanquished" after the civil war but yet the Igbo seems to be marginalized without having control of Nigeria's leadership as President after the end of the civil war in 1970.

On the whole, Ekwe-Ekwe (2013) on the other hand, in another book review of Chinua Achebe's work; *The Achebean Restoration*: concurred that, the Igbo people are the most affected by the Boko Haram attacks in the Northern part of the country. The work also assert that Jonathan's government had sympathizers of the Boko Haram in all the arms of the government functionary such as the Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary arm as well as the Security Forces. The quest for power in Nigeria has neglected the usage of ethnic differences in relation to unity in diversity as source of strength for the country. Hansen and Musa (2013) on this view of ethno-religious difference argued that, Nigerian national identity suffers as a result of ethno-religious weakness which ought to have been used as strong national identity to promote unity in diversity which could be deemed fit for the progress of the country.

In another development, the work of Agbibo (2013) argued that religion is the major tool that is used in dividing the people through the quest for national identity, as such, past leaders like General Ibrahim Babangida also used religion as a tool in as much as the country is multi-religious in nature. Babangida during his rule in office as the country's Head of State, he registered Nigeria under the Organization of Islamic Country (OIC) and placed the country under a single religious nation, thus undermined the fact that Nigeria is a multi-religious country. Agbibo and Maiangwa (2013) in their work on Boko Haram, religion and violence, seek to study the non-killing approach and resolving the trend of violence in the Northern part of the country, they found out that Boko Haram attacks goes beyond killing and bombing of worship centers such as the case of St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Madala, Suleja Local Government of Niger

State and they extended their attacks to International Institutions such as the bombing of United Nations building in Abuja.

Given these points, Agbiboa and Maiangwa (2013) noted that, many diplomats and Nigerian citizens were killed in the bombing of the UN building, in August, 2011, as they were affected. The work of Bartusevicius (2013) observed that, some of the issues that motivate people in carrying arms against the government or a particular society is as a result of the feeling that they are unequal with other people of the same society due to lack of access to education, health facilities, and as well as social services. To some, there is no opportunity for them to participate in politics and as such they become available in participating or taking arms against the government.

Equally important, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012) examined the issues that relates to violence in African countries and the work found that, violence in African countries are derived from the differences in races, ethnicities, tribes and religion with the understanding that, such issues are traced to colonial, post-colonial and the understanding of violence between separates ideologies such as capitalist and socialist ideological background. On the other hand, Salaam (2012) posits that, issues such as poverty, mass illiteracy, unemployment, endemic corruption, and social-political marginalization are the factors which facilitates the availability of youths to engage in the insurgency activities against the people and the government in power.

As shown above, the work of Solomon (2012) on *Counter Terrorism in Nigeria*: portrays that, the deep problems and difficulties in countering the Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria remains difficult as the group found her sympathizers right within the President Jonathan's led government whom some are in the executive arm of government, some in the legislative arm of government and as well as in the judiciary thus, becoming so difficult to counter the group. The work also noted that, the armed forces and as well as the police force is also infiltrated by the Boko Haram since their sympathizers are within these government agencies. This shows that, even some who are employed by the government and working for the government are sympathizers of the Boko Haram group could be passing information to them.

Under those circumstances, Onapajo, Uzodike and Whetho (2012) argued that, the Boko Haram has their members not only from Nigeria but also outside the Nigerian State to countries such as Cameroon, Niger, Sudan and Chad. Their work also connotes the Boko Haram to be worse than the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970. The work of Isumonah (2012) examined the paper titled: *Armed Society in Niger Delta*; in his study, the work found out that, lack of development of the Niger Delta led to the carrying of arms against the Nigerian State by the Niger Delta militants. Findings from the work also revealed that, the Niger Delta leaders preferred paying the strongmen, the youths in that region to protect their personal interest instead of the leaders using the available public resources to developed the Niger Delta region.

In addition, Isumonah (2012) further suggest that, social and political issues that led to the demand for arms should be tackled by the government in order to have an environment or region that is free of militants and secured. The work also noted the fact that, a wasteful of resources in the name of securing the Niger Delta region became the order of the day during the attack against the government and the communities located within the region. Other issues that are needed to be taken care of and should not be underestimated include the use social media work, it was found that there is security implication to the usage of social media network as it portrait potential security threat to the Nigerian polity such as the Biafra online discourses which is aimed at disintegrating from the Nigerian State to form or established another entity called the republic of Biafra through their advocacy on social media network (Chiluwa, 2012).

Consequently, Magbadelo (2012) argued that, the transformation of the Nigerian defence would help the country. In this regard, the work posits for a repositioning of the Nigerian military to meet up the current challenges in securing the country and that would require re-equipping of the military institution and implementing the set goals to transform the military force. That would help in safe-guarding the polity. Aghedo (2012) observed that, militancy and the case of the Niger Delta crisis was fueled by environmental insecurity of the region where those areas were affected by oil spillage from the activities of the oil industries within the region and that spoilt their land which farming became difficult. The work also found that, lack of development of the region and issues such as human rights violation in as much as the region is strategic to the growth of Nigeria's economy since it is the oil producing area for the country. Such

issues led to the carrying of arms against the Federal Government of Nigeria by the youths from the Niger Delta region.

All things considered, a review on inter-religious conflict as argued in the work of Rakodi (2012) indicates that, inter-religious conflict occurs as a result of the different religious belief. It is then motivated and used as a tool in the quest for power and resource control. Some politicians thus, found religion as a tool for fighting political gains and that may lead to the destruction of properties and killing of people. Religion can serve as a tool to separate the masses along that line since people with different identities stay together in a complex society or environment.

In addition, the work of Waldek and Jayasekara (2012) sought for redress on the issue of ethnicity and religion in relation to the Boko Haram group whom are known as Islamist extremist. Their work found out that, the members of the Boko Haram got their weapons through the Nigerian bordering States of Chad, Cameroon and Niger. They use the weapons in engaging in activities such as bombing, usage of suicide bombers who then engage in using explosive detonation.

By and large, Abdoulaye-Diop and Sanon (2010) in their work argued that, ECOWAS countries suffer as a result of poor governance and weak institutions. On the other hand, Mayaki (2010) observed that, African countries can drive forward through innovations and exchange of knowledge. However, the work of Jackson (2007) also pointed out that, ECOWAS countries and indeed the Nigerian State, suffer as result of poor governance,

security challenges which are factored in the context of poverty, corruption, unemployment, government's failure to deliver basic services to the people, weak institution and religious crisis between the Christians and the Muslims and that serve a threat to national security.

In the same way, the work of Pham (2012) attributes the factors that led to the re-emergence of Boko Haram in late 2010 due to the support of some Northern Nigeria's marginalized Muslims, these factors revolve around social, economic, religious and political issues concerning Northern Nigeria. There is a great concern on the issue of the Boko Haram since their attacks increased from 2011 with brutal killings of innocent souls across board in the Northern part of the country where men and women, young and old, children both in schools and out of school have been victims of the Boko Haram's attacks. Their attacks are not limited to the public alone but it cut across private and public institutions, they may have equally extended their links to other parts of Africa in a reach to other terrorist groups.

In addition, Anyadike (2013) observed that, Boko Haram has constituted not only threat to security in the Northern part of the country but their formation serves as threat to national security since their attacks represents breaking out of a harmonious co-existence of the Nigerian State. The work further explained that, socio-economic, religious issues and political factors are what fueled the conflict in the Northern part of the country where the Boko Haram attacks has been explained as problems that led to their emergence. The work also explained, President Jonathan had noted that, Boko

Haram infiltrated the Nigerian government as well as the Nigerian security agencies, the military inclusive which becomes very difficult in defeating the group.

It is also noted that, the Boko Haram seek to take control of the political machinery of the Nigerian state in order to Islamized the country through imposture of sharia legal code, however, on her membership, the Boko Haram draws her followership and supporters amongst the unemployed graduates, the youths living in poverty driven environments from the Northern part of the country (Agbiboa, 2013). The continuous attacks on the people also suggest the deep-seated socioeconomic and political grievances on the part of the Boko Haram members against the government which are rooted in poor governance and corruption.

Generally speaking, Agbiboa (2013) also argued that, the Boko Haram before her attacks and waging war against the government in 2009, the introduction of a new law for all motorcyclists in Nigeria to wear crash-helmets which was rejected by the Boko Haram members later became the beginning of a crash between the Boko Haram and the Nigerian security agencies as it started in Bauchi State. This development became the beginning of insurgency in 2009 as related to the Boko Haram group whom their leader was later killed by the security force in Maiduguri, Borno State. The work also noted that, Boko Haram membership cut across bankers, the unemployed graduates, political elites, university lecturers, and migrants from the bordering countries with Nigeria.

As a matter of fact, the work of Suleiman and Karim (2015) on the other hand focused on bad governance and corruption as a triggered tool that led to the rise of the Boko Haram in the Northern part of the country. Their work raised issues such as poverty, relating to 75% of the population of the people who are living the Northern part of the country as those living in abject poverty and as such, cited the former National Chairman of the then ruling political party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Bamanga Tukur, who related the Boko Haram spring in the North as a people who out of hunger, became aggrieved and angered against government's inability to solve the prevailing issues raised.

Consequently, some of the issues that also triggered the rise of Boko Haram membership include poor infrastructure in the Northern of the country such as poor electricity supply, poor supply of health care facilities within the region, inadequate number of Medical Doctors to work in the hospitals in the Northern states compared to the Southern states in Nigeria, issues such as unemployment of the youths in the Northern part of the country, while on the part of the leaderships in some part of the Northern states were alleged of corrupt charges and were waiting trials under charges by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Suleiman and Karim, 2015).

By and large, Uzodike and Maiangwa (2012) argued that, state failure on the part of the government led to the rise of the Boko Haram in the Northern part of the country citing issues such as poverty, unproductive government agencies which mostly known as weak institutions, the high level of underdevelopment of the Northern region as contribution

to the rise of the insurgency in the North. Their work further explained the deepening issue that divide the country which are lined within the context of ethnicity, religion, and regional divides. This notwithstanding, the work also focused on the notion that, the rise of the Boko Haram insurgency is derived from the context that of endemic corruption and the government failure to address the said issues raised above which pervasive poverty, youths who are unemployed and the underdevelopment of the Northern region are part of.

As shown above, on the formation of the Boko Haram group, Uzodike and Maiangwa (2012) further cited the work of Gusau (2009) who argued that, the group was formed as an evangelic group by some of the Muslim students from the University of Maiduguri, these were students who felt dissatisfied with Western Education and its culture in totality of which their ideology also defers from the context of Western Education. The work also explains as citing one of the leaders of Boko Haram, Mallam Sanni Umaru who defers on what Western Education is, referring to it as forbidden and as such, their belief is centered on Islamic culture as supreme.

In the same way, as relating to the political divide between the North and South, Uzodike and Maiangwa (2012) also reveals the dividing factor as dated back to the colonial rule where the colonials masters had taken their time to developed the Southern part of the country unlike the Northern part was left undeveloped. The argued in their work as referring to the vested resources in developing the Southern part of the country through establishing schools, as well as promotion the industrial base through

construction of light industries in the South. Such level of development in the South led to the North staging behind and undeveloped. Another dimension is that of the Christians and Muslims divide which is characterized under religious divide where the majority of those in the North are Muslims and that of the South, Christians.

On the whole, this divide is what has been expressed in the context of Nigeria's leadership during the return to democratic government in 1999. Again, Uzodike and Maingangwa (2012) viewed this as a turning point to religious violence as in the case of the electoral violence that greeted the elections that brought in President Jonathan in 2011 as the winner of the presidential elections as opposed by some Northern youths of Muslim faith who took to the street in protest against the election of Jonathan into power to rule from 2011-2015.

Given these points, Uzodike and Maingangwa (2012) again cited another work in giving more light to the Boko Haram uprising in the North after the presidential elections that was won by President Jonathan as citing Vanguard Newspaper (February 13, 2012) in relation to political sponsorship of the Boko Haram group to expand and to serve as a tool in fighting against the Nigerian state and making the country ungovernable.

In the past, the Nigerian state went what was demanding for the soul of the country which was regarded as the Nigerian civil war, Agbiboa (2013) connotes that, the former Nigeria President, Goodluck Jonathan had described the attacks launched by the Boko Haram during his tenure as the worst attack on the Nigerian State and even worse than

the dreaded civil war 1967-1970. It was a period when the country was set in division through the secession of the present South-East from the Nigerian State.

Under those circumstances, in the case of the Boko Haram, it is more than the three years of civil war 1967-1970 since their attacks started from 2009 to date (2015) and even still ongoing which one does not have a cruel of when the conflict would be resolved. Literature have it that, many attempts have been made on the part of the government to resolve the crisis yet, the attacks continues which serves as the most dreaded attacks on the soul of the Nigerian State and as well as threat to national security.

Consequently, Agbiboa (2013) further argued in his work on understanding the religious terrorism that, the Nigerian State is predominantly divided into two along religious lines. As such, the Muslims are predominantly in the Northern part of the country as against the number of Christian Northerners who less in number from the North. The Christians on the other hand, dominates the Southern part of the country and this shows that they are much more in number from the Southern part as against the Muslims within that region. This division is sharply created and it toes the political line in another dimension. The Boko Haram from the angle of religious terrorist group, forged attacks on the country since their inception in 2009 following series of fighting against the government of Nigeria, their attacks are more than any other armed group from the time of Nigeria's independence to date under study.

On the whole, this has called for a serious concern since their attacks are not limited to the shows of Nigeria alone and even if it were only Nigeria, the country serves as a strategic state in Africa with her population of more than 170 million people and having the largest population in Africa (Gerland, Raftery, Sevcikova, Li, Gu, Spoorenberg, Alkema, Fosdick, Chunn, Lalic, Bay, Buettner, Heilig and Wilmoth, 2014). It is no longer news that they country is under attacks. There have been multiple attacks and fight in terms of counter-terrorism which also a times result into crossfire between the Boko Haram group and the Nigerian security agencies on their part to restore peace (Agbibo, 2013).

By and large, religion again has a way of being used as a tool in even appointing political officers in power as to the case of Nigeria, Agbibo and Maiangwa (2013) argued in their work on towards a non-killing approach as how the case of religion is also a determinant factor even in contesting for political positions in the country. This type of divide is seen when periods of elections draws nearer and it becomes real when such positions are being contested by two or more people whom the factor comes into play of what religion is he or she? The dividing line here is the notion of either he or she is a Christian or Muslim.

Given these points, Tando (2004) argued that, Unity of the African people can only be sustained when the interest of the people is protected by the government. Sidiropoulos (2008) posits that, through the support of South Africa, NEPAD was established alongside regional institutions, and substantial contribution to NEPAD and the African

Union. It was also found that, South Africa should create more jobs through building of investment opportunities in order to resolve the unemployment problems. However, work is limited to South Africa and her foreign policy in the post-Mbeki regime.

2.2.1 Research Gap

The existing literature covers the activities of the Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria particularly their attacks on public and private structures, killings, kidnapping of students and attacks on religious worship centers (Osumah, 2014; Yusuf, 2013). In addition, the findings from the work of Agbiboa and Maiangwa (2013) suggest that Boko Haram attacks goes beyond killing and bombing of Churches as in the case of St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Madala, Suleja Local Government Area of Niger State to attacks on International Institutions such as the United Nations building in Abuja. However, these works did not cover the role of NEPAD in planning interventions that are intended to minimize the security threats posed by the Boko Haram.

The work of Bartusevicius (2013) opined that, people are motivated to carry arms when they are unequal in terms of lack of access to social amenities such as health facilities and education. In the same way, Onapajo, Uzodike and Whetho (2012) reveals their findings on Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria thus, the Boko Haram has their members across other African countries such as Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Sudan. The work suggests that the Boko Haram is worse than the Nigerian civil war 1967-1970. The work of Salaam (2012) revealed its findings that, poverty, mass illiteracy, endemic corruption, and unemployment as well as socio-political marginalization are the factors which

necessitated the availability of the youths to engage in insurgency activities in Nigeria. These controversies forms the gap to be studied on the role of NEPAD regarding the Nigeria's security challenges which geared and has links to the socio-economic problems such as poverty, illiteracy and youths' unemployment in Nigeria.

2.3 Integration theory

Lijphart (1971) classified integration theory into different dimensions: as national unification, which deals with the integration of the people of different cultural background, ethnic groups, religion and regionalism of same country. Integration theory from the perspective of subnational units which can be refers to as states/provinces, theories of federalism and as well as political stability which also concerns peace and stability in democratic governance. However, the integration theories can be subdivided into three categories namely: subnational, national and international. This gives us an understanding on explaining the unification of the categories in relation to the thirty-six (36) States as subnational in Nigeria. Whereas, NEPAD under the African Union as an international organization.

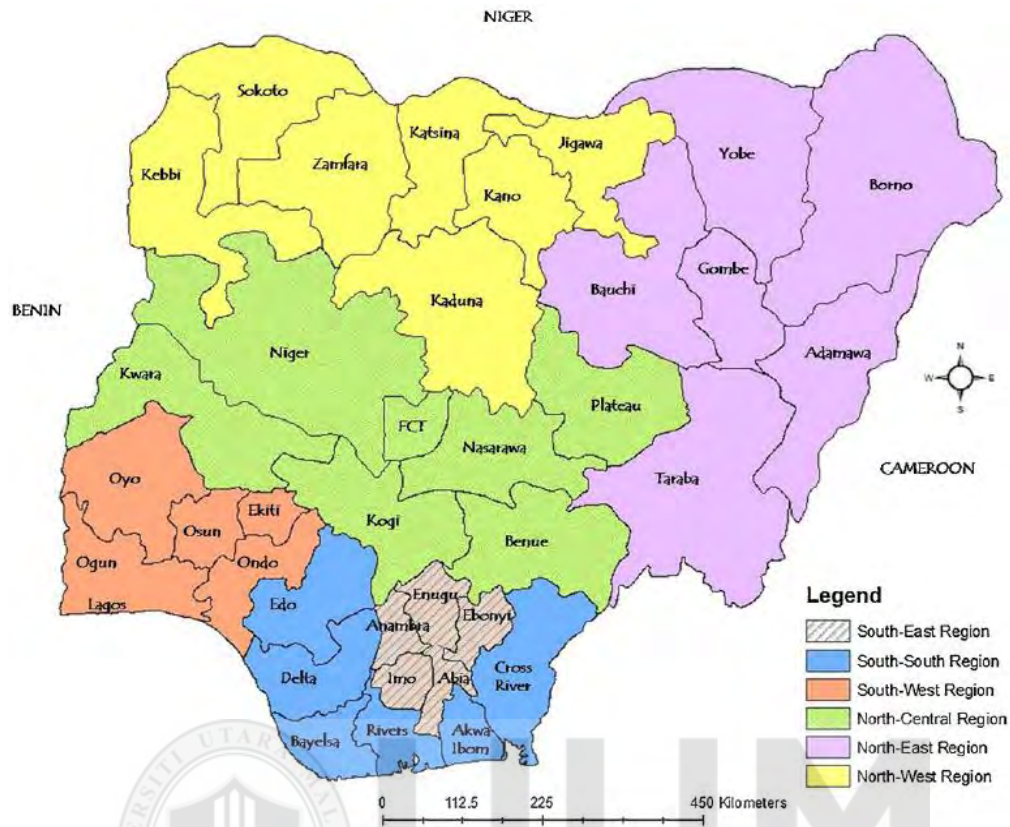


Figure 2.1 Map of Nigeria showing the six Geo-Political Zones

In understanding how the integration theory will help to explain the work therein, out of the 36 states of the federation, there are seven states namely Kaduna, Kano, Zamfara, Sokoto, Jigawa, Kebbi and Katsina, allocated to North-West zone where the Hausa-Fulani are the dominant ethnic group, and mostly Muslims; the North-East has six states namely Taraba, Adamawa, Bauchi, Yobe, Gombe and Borno, here we have the Hausa-Fulani and the Kanuri as the dominant ethnic group and of whom are mostly Muslims in that zone (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2014).

More so, we also have minorities within the two zones North-West and North-East. In the North-Central zone of Nigeria, we have six states, namely Benue, Plateau,

Nasarawa, Kogi, Kwara, and Niger states, most people living in this zone are minority ethnic groups; the South-West has six states namely Oyo, Osun, Ogun, Ondo, Lagos and Ekiti state whom are purely Yoruba; the South-East has five states namely: Enugu, Abia, Ebonyi, Anambra, and Imo whom are purely Igbo; lastly we have the South-South zone with six states namely: Rivers, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Bayelsa and Akwa Ibo whom are also made up of the minority ethnic groups, while the major ethnic groups are from the North-West and North-East are made up of made up of Hausa-Fulani, South-West is that of the Yoruba and South-East, the Igbo (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2014).

The integration of these people from across the country with both the major and the minority will further bring peace and unity in Nigeria, the question of who to rule Nigeria will be brought to the fore how it will be resolved thereby sustaining the political stability of the country in as much as the country is using the federal system of government which is aimed at bringing to the understanding of unity in diversity of the ethnic groups in Nigeria. As such, the country also through the integration of her people, their leaders are representing them at the National Assembly which is made up of the Senate and the Federal House of Representatives in Nigeria. Here, both the minority and the majority ethnic groups are represented thus, fostering unity in diversity and the promotion of peace and political sustainability. The focus of this study will further explain how integration theory can be used in resolving the current insecurity crisis in Nigeria.

Uniting the people of different background and culture, it then promotes peace and unity of the people. Khurana (2014) views national integration as having a common identity of a people of one country. This shows that they are from different regions, religion, and ethnic group but the awareness of a common identity unites them together. This is the beauty of integration theory as it seeks to explain the nature of the Nigerian society. It is a country of diverse ethnic groups, of over 300 ethnic groups with dominant of Hausa-Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba, also with two major dominant religions Christians and Muslims as well as traditional religion are found in Nigeria (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2014).

Goldstein and Pevehouse, (2011) refer to international integration as the process of replacing or the gradual shift of a country's sovereignty to regional or global structure through the formation of supranational institution such as European Union (EU), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Africa Union (AU), and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). We have Neo-functional and functional integration of which the former is the spillover of the functional integration, this means the coming together of nation-states was due to the promotion of their economic ties known as functional integration but later needed political dynamics to push forward their interest and to achieve more goals using political powers for such purpose known as neo-functionalism (Rosamond, 2000; Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2011; Hooghe and Marks, 2005).

However, in the case of African Union which is the umbrella of NEPAD encompasses both the political and economic ties of the institution. It was first formed as Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 which later transformed into African Union (AU) officially in 2002 (African Union, 2014; NEPAD, 2014). According to Chergui, (2014) the African Union seeks to promote peace, security and as well as stability of the continent where they will achieve conflict-free in Africa. Africa Union (2014) states various departments of the AU Commission is which peace and security is the first among many with the strategy of preventing conflict, counter terrorism, conflict resolution and its re-construction.

NEPAD is an agency of the AU and it fosters both political and economic ties from its inception with the objective of promoting Africa's development through the integration of African countries, and the global economy (NEPAD, 2014). This means, NEPAD Nigeria is not left out of the integration process as a platform for providing an enabling environment where countries in Africa, private and public sectors, as well as the international community can partner with them to achieve the set goals of NEPAD (Nafey, 2005). How then can these be achieving without peace and security and with the continuous activities of the Boko Haram which threatens the unity and stability of the country? It is then important in this research work to find answers which would rather unite the country as a federal state.

The Nigerian State over the years back to the period of colonial rule faced the notion of the marriage between the two regions which were brought together under the

administered cleric, Lord Lugard, who joined the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914 to form an entity called Nigeria (Agbiboa and Okem, 2011). This became the roots of national integration in this marriage of Nigeria's union, Bello-Imam (1987) here refers to Nigeria's national integration as the coming together of ethnic nationalities with different backgrounds and diverse sectional representation into a whole known as an entity called Nigeria.

On a common force of oneness through unity in diversity of different nationalities such as the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo, Tiv, Ijaw, Kanuri, Nupe, Gwari, Idoma, and Igala amongst other nationalities to mention a few out of the over 300 ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. Akinboye and Anifowose (2008) argued that, the country was brought together through the process of amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates by the British leader, Lord Lugard in 1914. However, even before the independence in 1960, the country had witnessed a form of disintegration where the North was not represented in the legislative council.

In Nigeria, the issue of ethnic representation especially at the federal level calls for unity in diversity and where a particular ethnic nationality is not represented, it then shows that there is marginalization of that nationality or group of nationalities like in the case of minority and majority question within the federation. In line with this, Wanogho (2011) sought to look at national integration from the point of the minority ethnic nationalities in Nigeria with the focus of the Niger Delta where those ethnic groups within that region are known as the minority. Though, within the context of this

research, we refer to South-South geo-political zone. On this issue of national integration, the cost of bearing in mind that only oneness, integrating the different ethnic groups that the region can move forward and as such, by extension, it goes beyond the boundaries of ethnicity and includes religious and regional background as in the case of Nigeria.

The quest for national integration suffered a setback after the colonial masters handed over power to Nigerian nationalist when the country gained her independence on the 1st of October, 1960, Akinboye and Anifowose (2008) have it that, after the independence when the white people left Nigeria, the country witnessed her 1st military coup on the 15th of January, 1966, when the Igbo led a coup that took away the lives of prominent Nigerians mostly from the Northern part of the country whom were from the Hausa-Fulani nationality. That became a seed that was sown as a division along ethnic, religious and regional lines. The quest for national integration was then faced with mistrust, division, hatred against one another especially the notion of Igbo from the Southern part of the country led a coup in killing the Hausa-Fulani from the Northern part of the country.

That seed germinated, grew, and it later produced fruits. Akinboye and Anifowose (2008) argued in their work that the Hausa-Fulani later led another counter-coup that took away the lives of the prominent Igbos in the military such as the death of the Nigerian Head of State, General Aguiyi-Ironsi, and that brought in a Northerner within the military that took over power as the Head of State, in person of General Yakubu

Gowon. There placed a sense of disintegration and secession as the Igbos felt there were no longer part of the country since an Igbo led government was taken over by the Northerners, as such, their leader Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu sought for secession of the Igbo from the marriage of Nigeria's union to established their entity known as Republic of Biafra.

That led to the first civil war in Nigeria that last for three years 1967-1970. At this time, Igbos were considered a new State, Republic of Biafra, while Nigeria fought back to reclaim the territory which today is known as the South-East region. Akinboye and Anifowose (2008) revealed that, after the civil war, the country through the leadership of General Yakubu Gowon embarked on a multi-pronged process of restoring the territory that was fought for through reconciling the South-East and re-integrating the region into Nigeria. This process was engineered by what was known as the three Rs: reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Igbo land by the Nigerian Government.

Ethnic divide became a tool even after the civil war ended since the North became so powerful that no other region could hold political power as Nigeria's leader. That also became the period of Northern hegemony within the context of Nigerian politics. Issue of "being part of" the Nigeria's leadership became and was left in the hands of the Northerners. Onokerhoraye (1978) posits that, Nigeria's diversities of over 250 ethnic groups yearns for national unity but faced with instability as a result of the differences in cultural diversities since each would want to protect her identity.

The ideological identity as we relates to ethnic division seek dominance which also explains the issue in Nigeria, Onokerhoraye (1978) have it that, the planning of the country's national capital city is to bring together all ethnic nationalities together for the purpose of promoting national integration and national unity amongst the people of difference ethnic background as in the case of Nigeria. By this view, the country Nigeria created the Federal Capital Territory within the central part of Nigeria to accommodate all ethnic nationalities in Nigeria which the place is called Abuja. It is also known as center of unity of all Nigerians for the purpose of integrating and uniting the people to achieve social-economic and political survival of the country.

One issue remains a problem to this unity and integration of the people of Nigeria and as such, it threatens the co-existence of the country while showcasing secession of other sectional and ethnic nationalities from the Nigerian unity. How then do we understand this? We will look at the marginalization process along ethnic, regional and religious background as issues that portrayed it and threaten the unity of the country. The issue is related to who govern Nigeria? The Nigerian leadership is then viewed from the point mentioned above which in most cases serves as a dividing factor. Akinboye and Anifowose (2008) in their work pointed out how regional, ethnic and religious divide were promoted in 1966 during the military coup that was first organized by the Igbo; whom were known as Southerners to reflect regional background, Igbo to reflect ethnic background and Christians to reflect religion.

Akinboye and Anifowose (2008) also in their work, revealed that, after the first coup which was led by the Igbos, another counter-coup was organized by the Northerners to reflect regional background against the Igbos from the Southern part of the country, Hausa-Fulani to reflect ethnic background against the Igbo ethnic group that staged the first coup, and Hausa-Fulani of Muslim faith whom are predominantly resides in the Northern part of the country to retaliate the fight against the Christian Igbos. However, after the counter-coup, the Hausa-Fulani brought in a Christian to take over power as the Head of State of Nigeria, in person of General Yakubu Gowon.

When the North took over power through the leadership of General Yakubu Gowon from the present Plateau State, became the dominance of Northern leadership in Nigeria. General Gowon ruled 1966-1975 as a Northerner, General Murtala Muhammad 1975-1976 also as a Northerner, President Shehu Shagari 1979-1983 from the North, General Muhammadu Buhari 1983-1985 also from the North, General Ibrahim Babangida from the North ruled from 1985-1993, General Sani Abacha ruled from 1993-1998 as a Northerner, General Abdulsalami Abubakar as another Northerner 1998-1999, this was the longest stay and occupancy of Nigeria's leadership by the Northerners of whom the Southerners felt segregated from the leadership of the country which clearly demonstrated Southern marginalization by the Northerners in power and control of Nigeria's leadership (Akinboye and Anifowose, 2008).

Chick (1971) in his work sought to figure out some of the issues the bedeviled the national integration of the Nigerian State, he concurred that, the media also attributes

from their choice of writing in promoting disintegration of the country which such write-ups are motivated by hatred, mistrust, to create room for dishonesty through impregnating the body politics with envy and killing the enthusiasm as well as good will that would have promoted trust amongst the people of Nigeria. On the hand, Peshkin (1967) focused on how education can promote national integration in Nigeria with the view that, the federal government of Nigeria had established universities in the country not just for the purpose of educating the citizenry but also serves as an avenue for national integration of the Nigerian people whose affiliations are from different backgrounds such as religion, ethnicity and regional divides.

Peshkin (1967) further explained that, British colonial rule in Nigeria succeeded in created a country where tribal differences were the paramount issues that stood in front of the people since they were from different cultural divides, as such, the union of the Nigerian people through the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates serves as magnitude of promoting peace and unity of the people over diverse tribal territories as seen from both regions of North and South. Again, the introduction of the usage of English Language was also another tool that was used in bringing the people together where they could speak one language in government, business, and to expand political identity as one people and one Nigeria.

As we have noted above, the issue of one Nigeria became more emphasized after the military handed over power to the civilian elected government in 1999. Agbiboa and Okem (2011) outlined the three issues: ethnicity, religion and regionalism that divide the

country as unholy trinity. In order to resolve these three issues, zoning formula was introduced in 1999 for the sole purpose of integrating all the six geopolitical zones where the people can be represented in all forms such as the minority and majority question reflecting the issue of ethnicity; through the national integration by bringing all the six geo-political zones together, the issue of religion was also addressed as well as the regional politics in Nigeria through zoning of the top political positions from 1999-2003, and 2003-2007 (Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012).

Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin (2012) further argued that zoning of political positions create an opportunity for the integration of the Nigerian state where the people are equally represented within the government. All the six geopolitical zones have equal representation within the government through the power sharing and rotation of the top political positions in Nigerian political system as seen during the Obasanjo led government of 1999 to 2007 where the position of the President was zoned to South-West, that of the Vice-President was zoned to North-East and the position of the Senate President was zoned to South-East. Again, through the zoning formula, the issue of minority and majority question was addressed since the major ethnic groups in Nigeria were allocated with a top position and the minorities were equally represented within the government.

Charles and Ikenna (2009) expressed in their work why the zoning formula was introduced within the Nigerian political system; it is argued that this was to allow the inclusion of the minorities into the affairs of the political governance of the Nigerian

state. The minorities were equally represented since the position of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation was zoned to them haven known that the South-South zone is made up of the minorities in Nigeria while the three major ethnic groups were feed with the positions of President, Vice-President, Senate-President in that order. These three major ethnic groups, the Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani, and Igbo were made to take the positions of the President, Vice-President and Senate-President respectively between the period of 1999-2007 (Awopaju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012; Charles and Ikenna, 2009).

The work of Charles and Ikenna (2009) laid a good understanding on why zoning of top political positions in Nigeria is very important. The work argues that, the fear of marginalization of the minorities by the majority ethnic group would be laid off. If such positions are not zoned to particular zones in Nigeria, the South-South and the North-Central where the minorities are mostly found would be marginalized within the political system of Nigeria and that would create an avenue for agitations by the affected groups to sought for secession from the Nigerian State in order to form their own independent country as in the case of Biafra secession from Nigeria when the felt marginalized and dominated by the North (Akinboye and Anifowose, 2008).

The quest for political power has been demonstrated by various groups in Nigeria in protecting their interest when they felt marginalized, after the civil war 1967-1970, the Igbos as part of the major ethnic group have been denied the opportunity to rule Nigeria as president. This has created a serious call for secession from Nigeria believing that,

one day, their quest for self-determination would be achieved (Onoyume, Iheamnachor and Ujumadu, 2015).

Again, Charles and Ikenna (2009) sought to make known why zoning is relevant to the Nigerian polity system. In their work, it is viewed that zoning is necessary in order to remove fears both on the part of the minorities that they may not have equal opportunity to hold some top elective positions in the country. The work further explained that, zoning makes elective positions such as president of the country to go round within the six geopolitical zones as the case may be and this would also solve the problem of the Igbos whom they have been excluded from this position since after the civil war in Nigeria.

Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin (2012) cited the work of Simbine (2002) on the issue of zoning, that the Nigerian State is endowed with different ethnic background and that make her heterogeneous in nature, as such, the practice of zoning in Nigeria's federal system of governance would promote unity in diversity thereby eliminating or reducing what is called dominance and marginalization in the context of exclusiveness in power sharing. Zoning would therefore, create an avenue for inclusiveness in helping to accommodate both the minorities and the majority ethnic groupings as well as an inclusion of the religious factor into the affairs of the governance and ruling political system in Nigeria.

The issue of being part of and inclusiveness is what national integration posed to solve, it would give an avenue for accommodating all irrespective of their backgrounds, be it religious, ethnic and regional in nature. That is where zoning and rotation of power between the North and South as well as across the six geo-political zones is all about. It is well known that every group be it minority or majority ethnic group, would want to rule Nigeria and where such is denied that opportunity, the call for secession becomes the order of the day as seen in the case of the South-East zone calling for the actualization of the Republic of Biafra (Onoyume, Iheamnachor and Ujumadu, 2015).

Return to democratic rule in 1999 after the military rule from 1983-1999 gave an opportunity for all the six geopolitical zones to have a share in the leadership of the country having the ethno-religious issues being solved between the periods of 1999-2003 and 2003-2007 when the position of the President was zoned to the South-West and that of the Vice-President zoned to the North-East. That type of arrangement was to solve the North and South divide as well as Christians and Muslims divide, thus, Olusegun Obasanjo represented the Southerners as President, while Atiku Abubakar represented the Northerners as the Vice-President.

Again, that zoning was done to reflect the inclusion of both Christians and Muslims having Obasanjo and Atiku respectively in those positions. The other positions also went to the remaining zones such as Senate President to South-East, Speaker of the House of Representatives to North-West, Secretary to the Government of the Federation was zoned to the South-South and that of the Chairman of the Ruling Political Party

(PDP) went to the North-Central zone. That was done to have all the zones integrated into a whole in order to promote peace and unity amongst all Nigerians with a view of having equal representation into the leadership (Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012).

Zoning as it implies, connotes rotation of power between the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria. As it was practiced from 1999 to 2007, it gave the opportunity for the minorities and the major ethnic groups, Christians and Muslims as well as the six geopolitical zones to be integrated into one Nigeria. However, as power was shift to the North in 2007 after eight years of Southern leadership, the death of President Yar'Adua created an avenue for the Vice-President to take over power on the 6th of May, 2010. In 2011, another general elections were held and the then President Jonathan contested and the North felt betrayed and Cheated since going by their party arrangements, power resided in the South for eight years 1999-2007 and that should have been the case for the North 2007-2015 to have achieved another eight years of Northern presidency but that Jonathan's contest and eventual winning of 2011 presidential election brought in serious crisis in the North. As such, Boko Haram was designed as an instrument for fighting against the government of President Jonathan by the Northern political elites for not allowing them to rule from 2011-2015 (Omololu, 2014).

At first, the Boko Haram were bombing Churches and killing Christians, the Christians from the North-Central zone, the Boko Haram was designed as an instrument to teach them a lesson for not supporting the Northern candidature but voting for President

Jonathan as a Christian in Support of the Southern presidency. David Mark, a Christian Northerner and the then Senate President, also condemned the Northern political elites for keeping silence over the continuous attacks from the Boko Haram insurgents (Omololu, 2014).

Asari Dokubo, an Ex-Niger Delta Militant leader during the administration of President Jonathan had promised the country that they are going to fight back against the Nigerian State if Jonathan from South-South is not allowed to rule for eight years 2011-2019 that it is their turn to rule the country since they are the Oil Producing area for the growth and development of the country. Again, that since the independence, none from the region had ruled Nigeria (Ezeamalu, 2013).

Asari-Dokubo made mention of Lawal Kaita, a Northerner, who in 2010 had said the North is determined and would make the country ungovernable if any short of Northern Presidency in 2011-2015, meaning that the North would fight against the government of President Jonathan, that his candidature under the PDP in 2011 elections was against the principle of zoning and rotation of power (Ezeamalu, 2013; Brimah, 2014).

The North's fight for seat of power shows that, 1999-2007 and 2010-2015 were the periods ruled by the South since the return to democratic rule and if they don't fight back, the North would be marginalized and dominated by the South. It also shows that they "North" are excluded from the leadership of the country and they are no longer integrated into the occupancy of the seat of power, the President of Nigeria. These were

issues that laid to the saying by US Ambassador to Nigeria, that the country would break up by 2015 going by the challenges that faced the country: Religion, Ethnicity and Regional divides, to say, Christian dominated South had ruled while Muslim dominated North fighting back to get hold of the seat of power (Oluwarotimi, 2015).

National integration therefore, promotes peace and unity in diversity, it promotes accommodation of the minorities and the majority ethnic groups, the issue of inclusiveness regarding the geopolitical zones as in the case of Nigeria as well as the issue of religion is not left out of place. Through zoning and rotation of power between the North and South would therefore, promote peaceful co-existence within the Nigerian polity.

The most concerned issue is that of the seat of President, the South-West had fight for it when the 1993 presidential elections were annulled by General Ibrahim Babangida considering the over-long control of the seat of power by the Northerners from 1979-1999. The South-West was eventually given the seat when it was zoned to them in 1999 during the return to democratic rule in 1999 (Akinboye and Anifowose, 2008).

The South-East also had fought and is still fighting through series of agitations both locally and internationally through Radio Biafra as a new instrument or else, secession would occur for them to have Republic of Biafra. The North, also have to fight for the same seat of the President through the instrument of Boko Haram when they felt excluded from occupying the seat and marginalized by the South. The South-South had

agitated for the same seat when President was in power that it is their turn to rule for eight years, that since the country's independence, they were excluded. All the zones wants inclusion into what would refers to as integrated into the whole "Nigeria" in occupying the top political positions and no zone would be left out as having a presentation in the government and political system (Akinboye and Anifowose, 2008; Omololu, 2014; Oluwarotimi, 2015; Onoyume, Iheamnachor and Ujumadu, 2015).





Figure 2.2 Conceptual framework on Integration in Nigeria

2.4 Integration Theory and Non-Traditional Security Nexus

This section will discuss issues relating to integration theory in connection to non-traditional security.

2.4.1 Geopolitical Zones

We are going to focus on the role of geopolitical zones as it relates to integration theory and the nexus therein to non-traditional security. The Nigerian State is subdivided into six geopolitical zones which are known as the North-West, North-East, North-Central, South-West, South-South and South-East. In all these zones, they represent a section of states, religion and ethnic affiliations. These are non-traditional security issues as reflected in the work of Collins (2007) regarding the broadening of security. In this regards, the work focused on societal security where the sustainability of traditional patterns such as religion, cultural background in relation to ethnic affiliation and national identity question. Society thus, connotes one as that the state may be threatened.

Issues that are regarded as critical in the face of societal security are then taken into consideration as such issues when neglected could create tension in the societal. In the case of the Nigerian state, geopolitical zones represents a greater percentage of these issues which are discussed in the work Buzan (1991) and cited by Collins (2007) reflecting to religion and national identities. We have the Igbo people as ethnic identity in the South-Eastern part of Nigeria, the South-East is a geopolitical zone out of the six geopolitical zones and when the zone is neglected within the Nigeria's political system,

that could create tension within the system and the political atmosphere of the country could be threatened.

The Igbo people from the South-East zone could see themselves as not being part of the Nigerian political system when neglected. As such, they see themselves as not integrated into the whole. Nigeria is referred to as the whole, and when one part of the geopolitical zone is neglected, tension could be created and that could threaten the co-existence of the people and the country at large. The idea of societal security as put in the work of Collins (2007) has it that society is merely about identity and such identity refers to as having collective members identifying themselves as a whole. This is where the idea of geopolitical zones can also be put in place of societal security.

In each of the geopolitical zones, a collective identity is recognized such as the case of the South-Eastern part of Nigeria where they are purely of one ethnic identity known as the Igbo people. In the South-Western part of the country, they are identified as Yoruba people. When these zones are neglected in the scheme of things in Nigeria especially the political leadership of the country at one time or the other, tensions are created. All the zones want to be integrated into the whole with major recognition in the governance of the political system.

The work of Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin (2012) identified the geopolitical zones in Nigeria as the zones were all represented within the Nigeria's political governance from 1999 to 2007, and such representation refers to as integrating the

whole. The position of the President went to the South-West and that of the Vice-President went to the North-East. The Senate President Position was zoned to the South-East and that of the Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives was zoned to the North-West. The position of the Secretary to the Federal Government of Nigeria and Chairman of the ruling political party, PDP, were zoned to the South-South and the North-Central respectively.

Geopolitical zones as we have it in Nigeria, the six geopolitical zones were equally represented and as such integrated into the whole in order to have a harmonious relationship within the political governance of Nigeria. Zoning here, is a tool to ensure societal identity is secured through equal representation which connotes what is known as being part of the political system as in the case of Nigeria. That would promote unity in diversity of different ethnic nationalities and different religious identities. This is where the subject integration theory nexuses non-traditional security in relation to geopolitical identity.

In the scheme of political power and power sharing, where any zone is not involved, not inclusive and not being part of the whole, there is threat to national security and the truncation of peace within the whole. Day and Yao (2004) noted in their work on integration as a means of preventing war regarding crisis of identities. The idea is to obtain peace and security sustainability rather than fight war. When the people of different identities are integrated into the whole, the idea is to have a common ground for unification and peaceful co-existence.

Collins (2007) have it that, the crisis of identity starts when the word “we” is threatened. We are not regarded as part of the whole, we are not involved, we are not being part of the political power arrangements as the case maybe. These are some of the factors that create tensions and such threatens the peaceful co-existence of the people. In case of Nigeria, the Northern identity accused the Southern identity as not being part of the ruling political structure during the return to civilian rule where most of the years were ruled by the Southern identity from 1999 to 2011 and that created tensions between the two geopolitical regions, the “North and South” (Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012).

2.4.2 Ethnicity

The issue of ethnic affiliations cannot be pushed aside in the Nigerian political system. Nigeria is the country with the largest population in Africa and with different ethnic diversities both from the Northern and Southern part of the country. These diversities are classified into two crested words “minority and majority” ethnic groupings in Nigeria. The minority comprises of the people from the South-South geopolitical zone and the North-Central geopolitical zone. However, those from the North-West and North-East are mostly of the major ethnic group from the Hausa-Fulani inclined. Those from the South-West are the Yoruba who are also part of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria and that of the South-East, purely the Igbo nationality whom are also of the major ethnic group.

Peace and Security sustainability is promoted when these groups are all integrated into the affairs of the country. But when neglected, it could cause tension which may result into violence. National integration here promotes unity in diversity, thus, the integration of the minority and the major ethnic groups into the whole create a sense of national identity and unity of the people (Khurana, 2014).

2.4.3 Religion

The Nigerian State over the years from the point of military takeover in 1966, most of the leaders were from the Northern part of the country and these leaders were mostly Muslims Murtala Muhammad 1975-1976, Muhammadu Buhari 1983-1985, Ibrahim Babangida 1985-1993, Sani Abacha 1993-1998 and Abdulsalami Abubakar 1998-1999, were all Muslims. However, the return to democratic rule in 1999 has showed that, the leadership of the country was mostly governed by the Christians who had longer years as the Nigerian President as seen during Olusegun Obasanjo 1999-2007 and Goodluck Jonathan 2010-2015 (Akinboye and Anifowose, 2008; Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012). The country's leadership is thus influenced by religious factor as what religion is the leader? This forms the bases of whom to support especially during the elections.

Religion then becomes a factor which cannot be laid aside in Nigerian politics as seen in 1999 to 2015 presidential elections and the leadership of the country where 1999-2007, the President was a Christian and the Vice President was a Muslim. Again, in 2007-2010, the President was a Muslim and the Vice President was Christian. More so, from

2010-2015, the President was a Christian and the Vice President, a Muslim. This is to proof how relevant religious factor influences the chances of who governed Nigeria. It is also taken into an account as factor in uniting the people of Nigeria through the integration of the people into the whole. In the view of this, when one religion is neglected especially between the Christians and the Muslims in the scheme of power and power politics, it may cause tension and may result to violence.

The Unity of the people regarding religious factor is when the two are represented in the scheme of power politics in Nigeria. As such, integrating them promotes peace and unity which could contribute to peace and political stability of the country at large. The people are highly concerned with having their religious affiliation been represented into the government.

2.4.4 Youth Unemployment

The influence of the youths is felt especially when we have unemployed skilled and unskilled labour. They become the available to be used for violence purposes. In most cases, they are convinced when they see their people are not represented into the scheme of politics. Unemployment creates a big space to be filled especially when the youths are not engaged (Jackson, 2007). The form of representation here could be socially inclined especially from the religious and ethnic bias when the youths sees that their people are not represented, they are not part of the power politics, not part of the control of the seat of power and on a religious notation, either Muslims or Christians are neglected from the scheme of power.

If the President is a Yoruba Man, the Igbo from South-East or Hausa-Fulani from the Northern part of the country may want to fight back and to protest why their people are not represented in governance of the country. They want their people to be represented and as such, being part of the political system as the case may be (Anya, 2012; Brimah, 2014; Liman, 2014). The case of inclusiveness, being part of the system and integrated into the whole promotes peace and security sustainability in the country. Youth's involvement through provision of job opportunities makes them to be engaged into doing something meaningful with their lives.

2.4.5 Human Security

The work of Ukeje (2005) connotes that sustainable socio-economic and political development which is based on good governance can produce the result of peace and security sustainability. The work also acknowledges that, NEPAD's views on tackling poverty and human security is through good governance, promotion of peace and security as well as democratic governance. The representation of the people from different ethnic and religious background within the Nigeria's democratic governance would therefore promote national integration (Khurana, 2014).

2.5 The Frustration-Aggression Theory

The assumptions and principles of frustration-aggression theory evolve the fact that men rebel against the state when they consider their issues unaddressed and unattended to. The people are frustrated due to the fact that their issues regarding socio-economic and political challenges are not addressed. Hence, such frustrations could lead to aggression

due to the fact that their challenges are not resolved and the failure of the government to solve the problems may lead them to aggressive tendency. This research work also employed the frustration-aggression theory to explain why the youths get involved in the activities of the Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria. In search for answers why the youths engage in violent attacks in the Nigerian polity, scholars such as Maiangwa, Uzodike, Whetho, and Onapajo (2012) cited the work of Dallard, Miller, Doob and Mowrer (1939) on *frustration and aggression* as well as Gurr (1970) on *why men rebel* in explaining the Boko Haram series of attacks against the Nigerian State.

In view of the above, Agbibo (2013) in his work on *why the Boko Haram exists* argues on two fundamental issues between what the people want as well as what they get, between the ought to be and what is on ground. The work further explained issues such as poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy as factors that bedeviled the North-Eastern part of the country where attacks by the Boko Haram are mostly carried out in Nigeria. Agbibo (2013) cited the work of Gurr (1970) asserting that, within an entity people become dissatisfied when there is a feeling of being neglected and not having what they ought to get.

This work employed the frustration-aggression to explain Boko Haram violent attacks in Nigeria. The work therefore, unveils the issues that propel Boko Haram members to engage to series of attacks against the government of Nigeria. Maiangwa, Uzodike, Whetho and Onapajo (2012) in their work on Boko Haram and the reign of terror in Nigeria examined the dimension of state failure in relation to addressing socioeconomic

challenges that bedeviled the country. These issues such as unemployment, poverty and illiteracy further serves as threat to national security of Nigeria.

2.5.1 Poverty and Unemployment

Okoye (2017) agrees that the Nigerian state is faced with crises of unemployed graduates and it increases societal poverty. Lekobane and Seleka (2017) views high rate of unemployment as a contributor to poverty in the rural areas employment opportunities are regarded as limited. Langer, Godefroidt and Meuleman (2017) in their work revealed that, the Boko Haram recruits mostly those who are unemployed graduates, school drop-outs, and youths who may have not attended school. Onapajo (2017) argues that widespread poverty, illiteracy and unemployment are seen to be a socio-economic phenomenon which serves as threat to Nigeria's security.

The issue of unemployment as viewed in the work of Odoh (2017) asserts that, as the number of people who are unemployed continues to grow there are people who are prepared either to kill or be killed. More so, Adamu (2017) suggest that, due to factors such as unemployment and social inequality in Nigeria, the Boko Haram has been able to recruit unemployed youths who are graduates from varies institutions of learning and the street children known as almajiri as their foot soldiers.

Chiazor and Udume (2017) view the groups in Nigeria such as Boko Haram, Niger Delta militants, Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra, and the Oduduwa People's Congress whose members are mostly the youths. Such groups are

made up of unemployed youths who serve as threat to Nigeria's security. Agbiboa (2013) in his work cited Gurr (1970) who argues that when the people rebel when they become dissatisfied with the government on a notion that they have less than what they ought to get.

Issues that may affect the people over a period of time, if not addressed, such dissatisfaction by the people leads to frustration which in turn, the people would rebel against the government or the perceived source of their grievances (Agbiboa, 2013). The work of Gurr (2005) argues that inequality and poverty breeds fertile grounds for violent political movements in general and terrorism to be specific. Agbiboa (2013) further explained in his work on how the most socioeconomically deprived part of the Nigerian State is the Northern part where the Boko Haram insurgents largely operate.

Maiangwa, Uzodike, Whetho and Onapajo (2012) observed that nation-state exist in order to serve the people through the provision of political and economic goods to their people living within the entity. It is therefore, the duty of the nation-states to address the issues that concerns their citizenries. Rotberg (2003) assert that, nation-states fail when they are thrown into violence and they become unable to protect their people. This could be through provision of security as well as political and economic goods to their citizens. The work also notes that, political and economic goods include security of the citizenries, employment opportunities, health care, infrastructures, education, a legal framework for maintaining law and order.

Maiangwa, Uzodike, Whetho and Onapajo (2012) argues that when state cannot perform her primary functions, duties and responsibilities of providing security for the citizens, employment opportunities, infrastructures and meeting the demands of the citizens, it loses her legitimacy before the citizens. This would lead to many of them transferring their allegiances to other responsive groups or certain figures who could be leaders of such groups. The work further explained that some of them may even go as far as becoming members of terrorist groups or organizations.

The frustration-aggression theory opined that, where there is a group that shared grievances in relation to marginalization, neglect, abandoned and having a strong sense of group identity, in such political entity or environment, there is tendency that violent may breakout against such sources of grievances (Gurr, 1994; Maiangwa, Uzodike, Whetho and Onapajo, 2012). This view applied to the insecurity situation created by the Boko Haram in the Nigerian state. The opinion here focused on the frustrated youths who joined or are recruited by the Boko Haram due to factors such as unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, such issues causes aggression within those who are affected (Adibe, 2012).

Adibe (2012) further explained that when the affected masses feel frustrated, abandoned, and even feeling alienated, they may find refuge in other groups such as religious. Some of them could be manipulated to wage war as insurgents against the state. The work of Maiangwa, Uzodike, Whetho and Onapajo (2012) asserts another dimension of frustration-aggression theory in explaining the fact that, the Boko Haram

insurgents are on a vengeance mission considering the fact that their leader was killed by Nigerian security forces in 2009 alongside other members of the group. After the incidence, most of the Boko Haram members in Northern Nigeria have been harboring anger as a result of the extrajudicial killing that took place which they became more aggressive against the government of Nigeria.

Anderson and Bushman (2002) connotes that, issue that ought to be addressed that are not taken care of, becomes provocative which could result to frustration. Such frustrations could increase aggression against the frustration agent. Feierabend and Feierabend (1966) opined that constructive solutions to frustrating situations are available in a participant society where ideas on how to resolve identified problems are solved.

In the light of the above, frustrating issues such as unemployment could be addressed as agreed by Dr. Franck Abagen of the Department of Political Science, Benue State University, says:

There are many ways to go about it. I'm one of those who believe that the government has no business engaging in business. Government has no business doing business. What government does is to create a very good environment, an enabling environment for business to thrive. And there are many things they can do; power, infrastructure, the banking system should be able to provide credit. All it takes in some places is your business ideas, you approach a bank and get a loan and set up your business, so the access to credit facilities has to be there. Then government can also encourage through its regulatory agencies, quick steps in creating employment. Yes I don't think we have enough motor mechanics, this is my take, I don't think we have enough carpenters, we think we do but we don't, I don't think we have enough masons, and a lot of young people want to be trained in these skills. So that is one thing. If we are focused, we want a situation where we will create

employers more than employees; it can be a policy of government that we should critically pursue. The problem is that we have policies supporting this but the implementation is the challenge here. The political will is the challenge here. Here is a good example; you see this cattle herdsman conflict. Now once you do go into ranching as the world has done- the best business practice now is ranching – you get fatter cows, yes then you get people who supply grass to these cows. You create a value chain. So you see the grass that you think is worthless becomes money, then the cow produces milk, you don't need to be importing. The cost of milk will go down; the people supplying electricity to the ranches will make money. So you create a full value chain then you have beef that has very good quality because they don't roam around with those cows so they get fatter. You see a lot of countries have done that including Saudi Arabia which has the biggest ranch in the world including India. So you can see, creating employment is sitting down with stakeholders and coming out with a very workable plan, you take the people off the streets. And then our leaders need to stop short-changing young people. What makes you think the biggest thing a man can do is to be a thug? Yes we discourage that, we have boys who are sent to go around and beat people up. Politicians do that, we should stop doing that. I don't think anybody will want his own son to be a thug and once we stop doing that, I think there will be changes (24th March, 2015).

In line with the issue of resolving the unemployment challenges which posed as frustration and may lead to youths aggressiveness towards the Nigerian state, Iveren Uganden of the Department of Political Science, Benue State University, is of the opinion that:

We have only one major employer of labour in Nigeria which is the state. The number of youths thrown into the labour market every year is high and employment is limited. The Nigerian state and the economy is capitalist in principle, it is driven by the capitalist ideology where the private is supposed to be assumed to be the major actor, meaning that the responsibility of producing and distributing material needs of society are in the hands of the capitalists, which Nigeria in principle is. However, Nigerian private sector is not developed; we have an underdeveloped sector, for instance: how many industries in Benue are employers of labour? The private sector is not developed because Nigeria is not industrialized, that is why we are import dependent, if we are not producing then we have idle labour, Nigeria has employment problem for the reasons

above. Another point for addressing unemployment issue is that banning importation will help create labour for the farmer. This helps to swell the income for the farmers. Again, are technologically driven? This market can be opened up probably having assembly plants in terms of cars, phones, and laptops (24th March, 2015).

On another view, Prof. Terkura Tarnande of the Department of Political Science, Benue State University, opined that:

The issue of unemployment is not something that can be addressed in one day because it's taken a long time to develop. You see the Nigerian economy was so dependent on oil to the extent that some people became lazy and couldn't even want to be employed in other sectors of the economy, they became vendors, and they became people who were just doing something from that oil sector. So, to address the unemployment situation in Nigeria, the government had to start from the diversification of economy and that is what the present government is attempting at doing, people will have to be employed in the line of agriculture and then there will be more industries set up to employ not only government can be employing the teaming unemployed population, if the economy is diversified, and there are other sectors that can employ particularly the private sector, then the problem will be addressed but that will come gradual, it will not be a short term solution. It has to take a while for the economy to take its roots, agriculture to be promoted, and then industrialization to curve up, so in a way that will help the situation (24th March, 2015).

Gurr (2015) posits that non-rational responses to frustration promote aggressive behavior and it is noted that men are inherently aggressive or can become aggressive when their goals are not achieved and they are frustrated. Muro-Ruiz (2002) revealed that people are generally driven to wage war against others when their goals are not achieved and they are frustrated. Kruglanski and Fishman (2006) asserts that due to factors such as poverty, unemployment, low social status, political oppression which are frustrating issues in the lives of the people, such frustration could lead others in search

for alternative means. The alternative means could be that others may join terrorist groups against the perceived frustrating agent.

Okoye (2017) explained that the rate of unemployed graduates in Nigeria has formed part of crises driven. Lekobane and Seleka (2017) revealed that high unemployment promotes and leads to increase in poverty. Ghani (2017) is on the opinion that the situation of unemployed youth in the urban areas is considered as pathetic. The work of Adeyanju (2017) further concurred that, those other issues such as regional conflict and ethno-religious crisis are aggravated due to the high rate of unemployed youths in Nigeria. As such, poverty and unemployment must be addressed to resolve the frustrating challenge facing the youths.



Figure 2.3 Theoretical framework diagram of Frustration-Aggression Theory.

Figure 2.4 Linking the Integration theory and the Frustration-Aggression Theory

2.6 Chapter Summary

In conclusion, this chapter made use of the integration theory in explaining how NEPAD operates, the issue of the zoning principle through integration of the people in relation to ethno-religious, and sectional divides which has to do with the North and South. The chapter also made use of the frustration-aggression theory in explaining the issues on why the youths engage in Boko Haram activities leading to attacks on the people and the government of Nigeria. The theories assisted in understanding the insecurity issues and how to tackle the security challenges that faces Nigeria.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DOMESTICATION OF NEPAD IN NIGERIA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter has focused on the domestication of NEPAD in Nigeria and it has covered the historical background of NEPAD from the period of the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The chapter has furthered the discussion on how the OAU was later transformed to the African Union (AU), on which the NEPAD was established as an agency of the AU. It will also focused on understanding the primary objectives of NEPAD in Nigeria, the priorities of NEPAD in Nigeria, the principles and values of NEPAD in Nigeria, the APRM's implementation in Nigeria, and the role of NEPAD in implementing Peace and Security programme initiatives in Nigeria.

3.2 The Establishment of the Organization of African Unity

The formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) took different stages since it involved the coming together of different groups. There were series of groups that were formed to achieve freedom for the African people from the White Colonial rule in Africa. Some of these groups will be discussed in this work which led to the formation

of OAU. The work also discussed the role of OAU in conflict resolution as narrowed down to NEPAD today. The main reason behind this research work is to proffer solutions to the present conflict against the Nigerian State, people, and the insecurity challenges facing both the government and the people. Many people are being killed and there is wanton destruction of property especially in the Northern part of the country.

Racial discrimination brought about the formation of solidarity movement that fought against the white rule in Africa through the African intellectuals who were studying abroad in Europe and North America. It was a struggle against the European powers that were ruling the African States; this movement was known as the Pan-African movement whose aim was to promote the freedom of African people from the white settlers and to obtain political independence of the African states from the European powers through eradication of colonialism (Munya, 1999).

Considering the rich resources in the continent of Africa, the Pan African movement had series of conferences for the purpose of gaining complete and total political independence of African States. They were concerned with the co-operation and unity of the African people and none interference of external forces in the affairs of the States. However, when the independent African States gained freedom from the European powers and were faced with different obstacles such as regional and ideological groups during the formation of the AUO.

These groups were: the Monrovia Group in May, 1961, which composed of Nigeria, Ethiopia, Liberia, Somalia, Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Libya, and Tunisia. The Brazzaville Group formed in December, 1960, consisted of mostly the French colonies such as Niger, Chad, Senegal, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Mauritania, Gabon, Benin (formerly Dahomey), Ivory Coast, Congo, Madagascar, Central African Republic, Cameroon. The Casablanca Group was formed in 1961, January, with the composition of Ghana, Mali, Morocco, Algeria and United Arab Republic. Another group was the Pan-African Freedom Movement of Eastern, Central and Southern African (PAFMECSA) which were having different ideologies (Munya, 1999).

The two groups that divided African states into two ideological units as well as camps were the radical Casablanca and the Monrovia group with separate ideologies. The Casablanca group wanted a United African Union government otherwise known as a supranational body for political integration which was led by President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (1909-1972). The other group was led by Emperor of Ethiopia, Emperor Haile Selassie (1892-1975), with the ideology of having independent sovereign States that will allow intergovernmental co-operation among states but reserving equal sovereignty (Naldi, 2008).

Later, the Emperor Selassie ideology prevailed and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established on the 25th of May, 1963, founded in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, with thirty-two (32) members. Although, the constitutional document known as OAU Charter entered into force on the 13th of September, 1963, that the OAU became fully

operational and the President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah was made the premier and president of the OAU (Naldi, 2008).

3.2.1 The OAU and the Security Perspective

The formation of the OAU in 1963 launched an organizational structure where the African States were able to meet as one body to solve the continent's problems of member states on the aim and objectives of its establishment. These included the following among others:

1. To promote the unity of African states and their solidarity.
2. To eradicate colonialism in all forms from the African continent.
3. To defend the territorial integrity of African states, their independence, Africans in control of their political, economic, social and cultural affairs thereby defending their sovereignty of their nation-states.
4. To promote the cooperation of Member States internationally within the framework of the United Nations.

However, there were divisions among the OAU members which were based on ideological differences. It was the aim of the OAU to achieve greater unity among Member States but they were faced with the division that occurred during the cold war era between the USA and Russia. They were two groups, the pro-socialist group led by the President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah and the pro-capitalist group which was led by Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the Ivory Coast Leader. This made it difficult to take action in resolving internal conflicts against members since there was no agreement over the right thing to be done (South African History Online, 2014).

Conflict Resolution and the promotion of solidarity and the unity of African states became an issue of debate when OAU was faced with challenges arisen from the Nigerian civil war (6th July, 1967 to 15th January, 1970), the border conflict of Ethiopia-Somalia-Kenya at the horn of Africa, the Congo crisis in Central Africa, and in the Southern Africa was the Southern Rhodesian (now known as Zimbabwe) crisis were the issues on ground (Munya, 1999).

When the Congo crisis involved the international community where USA and Belgium are part of the intervention, it created division among the African States and the OAU pullout of the war. Since the conflict was not resolved by OAU, the need for refugee camp arose. These were the issues and challenges OAU was faced with which were made up of social conflicts, borders and territorial disputes resulting to human insecurity (Kumar, 2008).

Looking beyond the challenges of insecurity in Africa during the period of the OAU, there were some achievements recorded by the organization such as the vital roles of set up projects like, establishment of African Development Bank which was aimed at making Africa economically/financially stronger, the eradication of colonialism and European domination through the control of political and economic power in African continent, the provision of weapons and training of military personnel to help fight for independence of States that were still under colonial control before the establishment of OAU, the support against white dominant rule and racial segregation known as Apartheid in South Africa as the OAU gave support to both ANC and PAC, the role of

OAU in fighting for the independence of South Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) alongside with ZANU and ZAPU (South African History Online, 2014).

According to Munya, (1999), OAU's Charter of 1963 centered on African Leaders rather than the people as coordinated in the Charter of the United Nations which is centered on the people thereby creating structural problems at the foundation of the Charter with the following words at the opening: "We, the Heads of African States and Government..... Whereas the United Nations' Charter opens with the words, "we the people of the United Nations.... This creates an impression that, it could be the fundamental problem in Africa where the interest of the people is not placed in the heart of the African leaders where most of them would either like to remain in power years in years out even when they are not performing well. Could this also be that the issue of corruption is no longer an issue in Africa where most of the African leaders strive to remain in power even when their citizens cry of poverty? And those in power loot the government treasury into their personal accounts home and abroad. The leadership question will be discussed in the course of this research work to proffer solutions to the issues.

Kumar, (2008) explains the need for the establishment of a new organization that will focus on the overall development of the African people through formation of an apex body which will be placed to oversee the solutions to the problems and challenges facing the people and the continent of Africa as well as her States. To this end, the need to replace the OAU which was fundamentally focused on eradicating colonialism and its

grip of political power by the Europeans in Africa to an organization charged with the responsibility of conflict resolution, geared towards peace and security, political, economic and social development of the African States. At an OAU Summit under the leadership of the President of Libya, Muammar Gaddafi, at Sirte, called for the dissolution of the OAU and the replacement of a new organization, the African Union, on the 9th of September, 1999.

3.2.2 The Formation of the African Union

A call to a new organization was answered following the Sirte Declaration of 1999 calling for the establishment of African Union. This was to enhance economic and political integration, cater for the need for peace and security, a mechanism charged with the responsibility enhancing conflict resolution, conflict prevention and management to have political stability in the continent. It is therefore, the provision and establishment of this organization known as the African Union (AU) that paved way for the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2001 which we shall be discussing in detail and given more explanations to its implementation in Africa, and indeed Nigeria.

The OAU was known for the purpose of uniting African states toward eradication of the colonial rule in the continent which was one of their major objectives at the time of its establishment in 1963. Among others, the OAU had the objective of promoting unity and solidarity in African continent, and as well as safe guarding the territorial integrity and sovereignty of African states. The adoption of the African Union's constitutive Act

in 2000 at the Lome Summit, refocused from eradication of the colonial rule to an integrated continent of Africa through political, social, economic and cultural values to promote the eradication of poverty among African states and her people (African Union, 2014).

There are so many objectives which the African Union (AU) wants to achieve as a mandate for its establishment, though this research work is focused on the objective and goal of promoting peace and security and the stability of the continent especially with emphasis on Nigeria. The AU has various organs with different purposes such as The Assembly, The Executive, The Commission, Peace and Security Council (PSC). The function of The Assembly as the head or supreme body of the Union is to oversee the activities of the AU since it is the body that constitutes the Head of State and Government of the African states (African Union, 2014).

The AU Commission is made up of departments with designated portfolios assigned with different responsibilities. Example is that of the Peace and Security which is assigned with the responsibility of conflict prevention, conflict management and resolution. It is also assigned with the responsibility of combating Terrorism in Africa. For this to be effectively done, a policy document known as The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was adopted in 2001 by the African Union as programme initiative to eradicate poverty and obtain sustainable development in the African continent (NEPAD Nigeria, 2010).

3.2.3 The Role of the AU's Peace and Security Council and NEPAD Relationship

This organ of the African Union is charged with the responsibility of establishing a collective security and early warning mechanism to foster timely as well as efficient responses to all issues within the African continent that would lead to conflict and crisis period in African States. As such, the organ was established in 2002 through a Constitutive Act relating to the protocol that established the Peace and Security Council (African Union, 2015). In this regards, they are a decision making body on all issues relating to conflict prevention, conflict management as well as conflict resolution.

According to African Union (2015) some of the roles played by the African Union's Peace and Security Council include:

- i. To conduct early warning and work on issues that would may lead to conflict through preventive diplomacy with the African Countries.
- ii. The Peace and Security Council of the African Union engage in facilitating peace-making processes, they also perform the duty of establishing peace-support operations in African countries.
- iii. They recommend intervention where there are issues relating to war crimes, genocide, as well as crimes against humanity as the case may be in a member State.
- iv. The African Union's Peace and Security Council also performs the function of instituting sanctions to Member State.

- v. They implement the African Union's common defence policy as well as engage in the implementation of the instruments to combat terrorism within the Member State and across the African countries.
- vi. Peace and Security Council of the African Union, also do the follow-up in African countries to ensure the promotion of democratic practices, good governance, respect for human life, promotion of the rule of law as well as international humanitarian law within the African States.

The relationship between the African Union's Peace and Security Council and that of NEPAD evolves within the context of NEPAD as an agency of the African Union been integrated into the structures and processes of the African Union (AU) during the 14th Summit of the AU which was held in February, 2010 in the Capital city of Ethiopia, known as Addis Abba (NEPAD Agency, 2014).

According to African Union (2015) NEPAD is mandated to support African development efforts through her partnership mechanism. NEPAD (2015) noted that, the NEPAD agency aims at supporting the efforts of Member States and that of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to address the challenging issues that face both the African countries and Regional Organizations. By this, NEPAD aims at promoting and creating conditions to enable the Africans in diaspora to play an active role in the development of African States through democracy, conflict prevention as well as post-conflict reconstruction processes within Africa. NEPAD as a strategic framework for socio-economic development thus, envisage the fact that poverty can

only be effectively tackled when there is good governance, peace and security, promotion of democracy as well as development of both human and material resources.

Issues pertaining to Peace and Security at the country level are promoted by NEPAD through her advisory role together with her partnership mechanism. Such issues are raised through recommendations and presented to the national government for consideration as well as implementation. In the case of Nigeria, NEPAD conducted a research on the root causes of the then Niger-Delta conflict and the outcome of the research was further outlined and presented to the Federal Government of Nigeria as recommendations on how the government can tackle the problems that led to the conflict situation in the Niger-Delta (NEPAD Nigeria, 2010).

At the continental level, NEPAD presents issues concerning peace and security as a report through the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Orientation Committee (HSGOC) to the African Union Assembly who oversees NEPAD. Such issues are then put forward for consideration, brought forward as recommendations from the HSGOC Chairperson to the AU Assembly (African Union, 2015). At this stage, the African Union's Peace and Security Council Chairperson is mandated to bring to the Peace and Security Council issues that threatens the stability, peace, security and the well-being of the African continent which there are the mandate of the Peace and Security Council to resolve, mediate, through peace-making, peace-building and to prevent further crisis (African Union, 2015).

3.3 The Implementation of NEPAD's Peace and Security Objective in Nigeria

The leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo as the Nigerian president in the 4th Republic contributed so much in the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2001 as a policy document and programme initiative of the African Union which is aimed at eradicating poverty in Africa States. The country Nigeria is blessed with abundant human and material resources which need to be used and tapped for the development of the country. The Nigerian State has contributed to the development of the West African sub-region through her active role in the deployment of military troops in conflicting States such as Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Liberia, Sierra Leon, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe and as well as Darfur (Gillies, 2007).

Through the Nigeria's leadership role in the formation of NEPAD amongst other African leaders, Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, and Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria (NEPAD, 2005). They all worked together for the sole purpose of revitalization of the African continent from the high level of poverty and underdevelopment of the continent. However, in Nigeria the country is still presently facing poverty challenges even though it is currently Africa's largest economy (Friedman, 2014). So many Nigerian youths are going about on the streets without job opportunities.

The World Bank reveal from its reports that, Africa's economy has improved in its growth from 4.7 percent in 2013 to a forecasted 5.2 percent in 2014. It is therefore

recorded that the growth has been boosted as a result of rising investment in her natural resources and infrastructure as well as strong household spending. Also, the new oil and gas discoveries in some parts of the African continents including countries such as Angola, Tanzania, and Mozambique has boosted the continents' Net Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) which recorded 16 percent growth to \$43 billion in 2013 (Chuhan-Pole, 2014).

As in the case of Nigeria, with her endowed minerals and agricultural resources, and a huge number of human resources, yet majority of the population are living in abject poverty and most are leaving below one dollar per day. Hence, Nigeria's major focus is on economic development where she obtains her major source of foreign income, such as from oil while neglecting so many areas that can be diversified such as agriculture, mining, transport, manufacturing, tourism, services and promotion of the private sector. The West African nation Nigeria is the present or current Africa's largest economy with her market value of \$510 billion from her total finished goods and services produced, thereby over taking South Africa (The Economist, April 12, 2014; Friedman, 2014).

Nigeria, through her movie industry Nollywood employs a significant number of people more than a million and generates about \$600 million a year for the country. The telecom industry in Nigeria has about 120 million mobile-phone subscribers out of the country's population of over 170 million. In the Sub-Sahara Africa, Nigeria and South Africa form the largest mobile markets which created more source of income through the use of mobile-phones (Paul, 2014). Nigeria's GDP has recorded a huge success

through the services rendered by the movie and telecommunication industries, thereby making the country's economy the largest in Africa, as well as having a shift in diversified economy for the country where many area of economy are been neglected (Friedman, 2014).

The Economist (April 12, 2014) and Friedman (2014) views the country of Nigeria as it becomes the largest Africa's economy, there will be many investors who may have interests in investing in the country's economy whereas, the fear of insecurity becomes the greatest challenge. Those who may also want to partner with the NEPAD in implementing her programmes in Nigeria may be faced with the fear of insecurity especially in the Northern part of the country. The country still needs more efforts and support through partnership for her huge human and material resources to be tapped and developed for the total well-being of the people and the nation. There are millions of Nigerians who are unemployed even though a greater number of them are university, college of education and polytechnic graduates still going about in the streets without job opportunities.

Mangu, (2014) asserts that, African Union aims at promoting democracy and good governance through respect to the democratic principles and institutions such as the rule of law, human rights, and good governance, as including the NEPAD and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The APRM is to assess the commitment to the implementation of the NEPAD programme initiatives; it therefore places high value and concern to the implementation of the democracy and good governance. More so, the

APRM should be funded by African governments to avoid the assessment of foreigners who will dictate to Africans in the area of governance, as well as Africans should be committed to good governance. However, Mangu's work is limited to knowledge on APRM's assessment of the implementation of the democracy and good governance in Nigeria, which directly drives the peace and security goal of NEPAD.

3.4 NEPAD Nigeria's Domestication

The establishment of the NEPAD in 2001 was viewed with the understanding of resolving the developmental ills in the African continent as compared to other continents of the world. It was further domesticated in Nigeria with the understanding of the country's rich heritage in our African society and her endowed resources yet amidst poverty, the idea of NEPAD domestication was put in place as a framework for the revitalization of the country's socio-economic challenges, obtaining a peaceful co-existence in Nigeria and among the African countries as well as placing her on a path of sustainable growth and development.

NEPAD Nigeria (2014) in view of this observed that, it became necessary to establish a body that would be responsible for the running, administering, coordinating, planning and implementation of the programmes of NEPAD in Nigeria and will also aim at achieving the set objectives, goals, priorities of the NEPAD programme initiatives in Nigeria. On understanding how NEPAD Nigeria works with the continental body, it is revealed that, the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) as the apex ruling body of NEPAD were established during the July, 2001

OAU summit which was held in Lusaka, Zambia, through the Declaration 1 (XXXVII). NEPAD therefore, is integrated into the African Union (AU) structures and processes for the purpose of achieving the set goals of its establishment.

Furthermore, at the AU submit held in February, 2010 at Addis Abba, Ethiopia, among others, the NEPAD HSGIC was replaced with the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Orientation Committee (HSGOC) for the essence or purpose of strengthening the body for more active work in order to achieved its set objectives. As the HSGOC assumes a new leadership in NEPAD's transformation, it is fashioned with the responsibility of overseeing NEPAD sets goals, aims and objectives, priorities, the processes as well as the programmes of actions. In line with this, the NEPAD Secretariat was also fashioned with a new label of becoming an agency of the Africa Union with the responsibility of implementing the NEPAD programme initiatives. It is now known as NEPAD Agency charged with the task of planning, coordinating and implementing the set objectives, and programmes of the NEPAD policy document (NEPAD HSGOC, 2014).

The membership of HSGOC consist of the 21 African countries, it includes the five countries that initiated the NEPAD policy document in 2001 and the representation of the five sub-regions within the African continents known as North Africa, West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa. From the inception, the membership was 15 but later increased to 21 by the AU Assembly in order to promote equal

representation with the view of inspiring ownership by the African countries and promoting integration principle among the African countries.

On a permanent membership of the HSGOC just like the UN Security Council, the five countries that initiated the NEPAD framework are permanent members while the other fifteen members are elected for the period of two years and it is rotational, the Chairperson of the AU Commission in Addis Abba is also a member and participates in the Summits held by the HSGOC at any given time. It is worthy of note that, the Chairperson's country should be part of the HSGOC as it is endorsed by the AU Assembly at its 11th Summit meeting (NEPAD HSGOC, 2014).

Basically, they meet at least twice a year and the African institutions that partner with the HSGOC Membership includes the eight African Regional Economic Communities (RECs) whom are official members as they also participate in their Summits headed by the current Prime Minister of Ethiopia, H. E. Meles Zenawi. The partner institutions include SADC, EAC, ECOWAS, COMESA, AMU/UMA, ECCAS, CEN-SAD, and IGAD, and as such, their Heads are all part of the HSGOC membership as well as other institutions such as the UNDP, African Development Bank, UN- Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (UN-OSAA) and the UN-ECA (NEPAD HSGOC, 2014).

It is the responsibility of the NEPAD Steering Committee to support the HSGOC in drafting the framework, issues, and reports on progress of the implementation of programmes and projects of the NEPAD which will be presented at the AU Assembly

Summit by the Head of the NEPAD HSGOC. The NEPAD Steering Committee consist of two Personal Representatives each for the five counties that initiated NEPAD policy document, while each Head of State and Government of NEPAD HSGOC present one Personal Representative to constitute the membership of the Steering Committee.

According to NEPAD HSGOC (2014) Countries that consist the membership of the HSGOC as at August, 2013, are the five originating members of NEPAD and the other elected by the AU Assembly such as: Nigeria, South Africa, Algeria, Egypt, Senegal, Chad, Ethiopia, Uganda, Libya, Congo Republic, Benin, Gabon, Mauritania, Malawi, Sudan, Zambia, Rwanda, Cameroon, Mali, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania. The leadership of the NEPAD and its governing structures are as follows:

- 1) The AU Assembly is the superior body of NEPAD since it's an Agency of the African Union.
- 2) The NEPAD HSGOC is the second in command of the hierarchy of NEPAD, while the Head of NEPAD Heads of State and Government Orientation Committee (HSGOC) reports to the AU Assembly during the Summit on the progress of the NEPAD programmes and projects as it is implemented as well as the recommendations of its HSGOC Summits.
- 3) The NEPAD Steering Committee whose activities and functions are coordinated at the NEPAD headquarters in Midlands, South Africa, and they are responsible for the drafting of the progress reports which is tabled before the AU Assembly by the Head of the HSGOC.

- 4) The NEPAD Agency does the implementation of the programmes and projects that are approved by the HSGOC as well as the coordination of the NEPAD partners in the various sectorial priorities of the NEPAD programme.

The 14th AU Assembly Summit which was held in February, 2010 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, thus, paved way for the transformation of the NEPAD Secretariat with a view of making it more focused in the implementation of its programmes and projects thereby, fashioning the secretariat into NEPAD Agency. The Agency does the coordination, planning, and implementation of the NEPAD goals and objectives at both within and outside of African continent as documented in the framework or otherwise known as the policy document; it also serves as the technical body of the AU (NEPAD Agency, 2014).

3.4.1 The Primary Objectives of NEPAD Nigeria

NEPAD Nigeria (2014) to achieve the purpose of setting up the NEPAD's establishment, it therefore sought to focus on the following primary objectives below:

- 1) To eradicate poverty as it affects the people in their everyday life, in order to provide solutions to poverty related issues especially with people living below one US Dollar per day.
- 2) To place the Nigeria and other countries in Africa, on a path of sustainable growth and development, this would be done both collectively and individually.
- 3) To put to an end the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process where the continent serves as a consuming region rather than producing region like the other continents do.

- 4) To enhance the continent in benefiting and integrating in the global economy using the advantage of her rich resources.
- 5) To increase the empowerment of women in all fields especially in areas where they are marginalized.

In achieving the above set objectives of NEPAD, it then focuses on priorities to enable the primary objectives to be achieved.

3.4.2 The Priorities of NEPAD Nigeria

NEPAD Annual Report (2005) and NEPAD Nigeria (2015) observes that, the fact that Africa needs political, economic, and social-cultural revival within the country Nigeria for the people to overcome the issues that have weighed them down over the years, NEPAD therefore, fashioned out the conditions for sustainable development which can be obtained by ensuring the following for achieving the set primary objectives:

- i) Peace and Security;
- ii) Capacity Building;
- iii) Regional Integration and Cooperation;
- iv) Democracy and good political governance, economic governance, and corporate governance.

The need for policy reforms in order to gear up investment for the purpose of obtaining high increase in production so as to meet the demands of the goods and services both at local and the international markets where Africa can be placed on the path of sustainable

growth and development, to halt the marginalization of the African continent at the global market thus, NEPAD focuses on the following sectorial priorities:

- i) Agriculture;
- ii) Education, Health, Science and Technology, and Skills development as a means of achieving human development;
- iii) Increasing the development and enhancement of infrastructure, as well as Energy, Water, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Transport, and Sanitation;
- iv) Enhancing the diversification of production especially in the areas related to exports, such as mining, agro-industries, tourism, manufacturing, and mineral exploration;
- v) Promoting and increasing intra-African trade and enabling access to markets;
- vi) The environment.

Resources are basically needed for development of a people, place, at both national and international, as such there is also need for the mobilization of resources in the following by:

- i) Increasing, promoting, and improving on savings and investments domestically;
- ii) Improving the management of revenue and expenditure within the public sector;
- iii) Ensuring a place for Africa in the global trade which must be highly improved,
- iv) Putting majors for foreign direct investment to be attracted;
- v) Ensuring debt reduction and increasing ODA flows.

3.4.3 The Principles and Values of NEPAD Nigeria

NEPAD Annual Report (2005) assert that to obtain peace and security, socio-economic development, and sustainable political development, there must be good governance as a basic requirement; the participation of all the sectors of the society as well as Nigerian ownership and leadership in control; spearheading the development of Nigeria through the availability of her resources and making use of her manpower otherwise known as her human resources; having partnership between the people of Nigeria and amongst the people within the continent; engineering and gearing the continental, and regional integration; innovating new international partnership that will restructure the unequal balance between the African continent and the developed world; putting in place all forms of partnership with NEPAD that has linkage with the Millennium Development Goals (MGD), and the development goals and targeted objectives that have been agreed upon.

To sum up, NEPAD Nigeria (2010) connotes that, issues of good governance, poverty eradication, empowerment, promotion and protection of the women, children and the youths would impact greatly on the country's socio-economic development as well as having impact on the security challenges that is facing the country Nigeria. Other issue concerned involves the protection of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria, people with disabilities as well as refugees.

3.5 The Domestication of NEPAD's APRM in Nigeria

As the NEPAD considered the commitment to the implementation of its sectorial priorities and the assurance to continuity of the programme of action, a need arose for a mechanism that will be assigned with the responsibility of assessing and evaluating the performance of the set goals brought into establishment of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). NEPAD Nigeria (2014) therefore, confirmed that the APRM looks into issues that affect the people such as poor governance, ineffective ways of the government in rendering services and public goods to the people as well as addressing the issue of corruption. As for the country Nigeria, in 2008, it was peer reviewed.

APRM therefore, examines the performance of the architectures of NEPAD framework from a periodic time with the view of knowing what they have achieved and what have not been achieved, hence, the monitoring and evaluation of the programmes and projects of NEPAD implementation. Thus, APRM calls for adequate attention in areas where there are weaknesses or failures during the implementation process so as to enhance transparency and accountability at the country level. APRM is the watch dog of NEPAD as well as the police man of the NEPAD programme implementation.

NEPAD APRM (2014) observed APRM is instituted for the purpose of achieving high standards of governance in Africa that the self-monitoring mechanism was established known as the African Peer Review Mechanism. It is therefore, a voluntary and mutually agreed upon fact by the African Union leaders who sought for a self-mechanism to monitor the progress of NEPAD in implementation of programmes and projects as well

as the commitment of the partners involved in all the NEPAD sectorial priorities. By so doing, there are basically four areas that the APRM focuses on which are:

i) Social-economic development:

The issue of Poverty in Africa can only be addressed when there is promotion of democracy through good leadership that would enable or provide good governance, peace and security of the people and the state as well as the development of both human and material resources therein.

ii) Corporate governance:

With a focus on promotion of ethical values, principles and practices within corporate organizations which could be public or private where economic and social goals can be achieved for the benefits of the entire people. It is therefore a valuable instrument for promoting good corporate governance.

iii) Economic governance:

Transparency and accountability in both private and public financial management is what promotes good economic governance, it thus, stands as a yardstick for promoting economic growth and eradicating poverty in the society.

iv) Democracy and political governance:

The vision of ensuring democratic principles and ethics is promoted as well as ensuring the country's constitution which reflects what ought to be in a democratic setting or governance, provision of responsible and accountable governance where the people are the target goal of why government exists. An enabling environment where there is political participation by the people,

where the eligible can vote and be voted for thus, the presence of free and fair elections as well as fairness of the political environment.

It is the concern and duty of the APRM to ensure the above four areas are looked into when monitoring and evaluating the performance of the implementation of the NEPAD programme initiatives in the countries under peer review.

3.5.1 The Leadership of APRM

APRM has a structure that it operates on within the framework of the NEPAD programme to accelerate the progress and integrity of its implementation process.

NEPAD APRM (2014) noted that, the body of APRM is structured in this manner below:

A) The APRM Forum:

It constitutes the Committee of Participating Heads of States and Government and it is the apex body that is in charge of the decision making in the APRM. Thus, they are the highest decision making body with that authority vested on them.

B) The APRM Panel:

This body constitutes of the Panel of Eminent Persons from the African countries who are charged with the responsibility of overseeing the review process so as to enable high level of professional integrity, while also among others to look into various reports and further with recommendations to the highest body known as the APRM Forum.

C) The APRM Secretariat:

It is the duty of this body to provide the administrative functions in coordinating, enhancing technical functions and giving needed support to the APRM.

D) The CRM Team:

Since the establishment of the APRM is to assess as well as review the progress of the implementation of the NEPAD programme initiatives, this body known as the Country Review Mission Team (CRM Team) does the visitation to the member states with the view of assessing the progress of NEPAD programme implementation in such countries. After reviewing the progress, it will further write a report on that country known as the APRM Report.

According to NEPAD APRM (2014), the countries that acceded to the APRM are numbered up to 30 countries out of the 54 countries in Africa and they are listed below:

Nigeria, Egypt, Mali, South Africa, Algeria, Burkina Faso, Benin, Angola, Congo, Ethiopia, Cameroon, Malawi, Djibouti, Gabon, Togo, Ghana, Zambia, Kenya, Sao Tome & Principe, Liberia, Mozambique, Lesotho, Mauritania, Rwanda, Uganda, Mauritius, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Sudan and Senegal.

NEPAD Nigeria (2010) found that the five stages each country would have to undergo through the APRM review processes which are as follows:

1st Stage: The AU questionnaire is presented to the National Stakeholders of NEPAD to fill and certify the details therein for the purpose of ensuring the Country Self-Assessment (CSA) in order to examine the record of governance.

2nd Stage: It is the duty of the CRM Team at this stage to visit the country under review to examine the procedure that was taken by the CSA at the first stage so that it could be validated by the CRM Team.

3rd Stage: A draft is made from the CSA report by the APRM panel. The CRM Team is a subordinate committee to the APRM Panel.

4th Stage: The final report from the CRM Team is forwarded to the highest body for necessary decisions and action, known as the APRM Forum that comprises of the Heads of State and Government.

5th Stage: During the Summit, the final Country Review Report (CRR) on such a country is presented publicly for the purpose of enhancing support and providing more ideas from the expertise as well as partners such as the continental and international organizations.

3.5.2 The APRM's Implementation in Nigeria

Nigeria hosted the APR Panel in 2005, during the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo who was also both the Chairperson of NEPAD's Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) as well as the APR Forum between 2001, July and 2007, May. NEPAD Annual Report (2005) noted that, the APR Panel had interaction with Stakeholders during the Country Support Mission held 21st to 22nd of March, 2005. It was led by the Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat, who was the Vice Chairperson of the APR Panel as well as Eminent Member. Among the various stakeholders whom they had interaction with during the visit consist of the following: the Nigerian Judiciary, the Civil Service, the House of Representatives, the anti-

corruption agencies, and members of the Business Community in Nigeria. A courtesy call was paid to the President Olusegun Obasanjo by the APR Panel and they signed a Memorandum of Understanding.

However, in February and March, 2008, Nigeria hosted a team of 30 Eminent Africans for the Country Review Mission and travelled round the country interacting with the stakeholders on views related to the Country Self-Assessment Report (CSAR), and National Programme of Action (NPoA). NEPAD Nigeria (2010) in June, 2008 noted that the APRM Continental Secretariat received the National Comments on the Country Review Report (CRR). While in September and October, 2008, NEPAD Nigeria got reviewed by the African Peer Review Forum which is the apex body of the APRM.

Notable among the innovations that were introduced in the implementation of the APRM in Nigeria include: the establishment of a National Focal Point (NFP) charged with responsibility of ensuring the NEPAD/APRM is domesticated in Nigeria and should be the Secretary to the Government of the Federation; creation of the State Focal Points (SFPs) and as well as the State Steering Committees (SSCs) each located within the 36 states of the federation, notwithstanding, establishment of both National and State Working Groups, who comprise Nigerians from both the public and private sectors.

3.5.3 The Partners of APRM

As noted above in the five stages of APRM's implementation process, at the final stage which is stage five, the report on the country under review is thus presented publicly

which involves partners who are equally given the opportunity to share their level of expertise with the country for the purpose of upgrading, ensuring/enhancing new ideas and innovation so as to enable the NEPAD priorities and projects be implemented. The APRM is equally through the AU/NEPAD cooperation, is working with a number of partners to enhance both regional and continental integration for the sole aim of gearing progress in the implementation of the goals and objectives of NEPAD programme initiatives (AU/NEPAD, 2009).

These APRM partners are broadly envisioned at regional, continental and global levels of partnership which are simplified below:

A) Partners at Regional and Continental levels are:

- African Development Bank (ADB)
- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)

B) Partners at Global/International levels are:

- The European Union
- World Bank Group
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

It is worthy of note that the United Nations usher her support to NEPAD as well as the APRM through the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, this is in view of strengthening the governance and management of the Economic Commission for African member states through their development processes at regional level (AU/NEPAD, 2009).

However, the APRM also receives support from the African Development Bank at the regional level which is aimed at enhancing regional payment systems as well as harmonization of audit reports, public procurement, halting the process of money laundering and ensuring integrity reforms in Africa. On the other hand, UNPD does the administration and coordination of APRM Trust Fund; it also contributes to the Trust Fund for the purpose of providing support to the APRM Panel as well as the APRM Secretariat which was on the bases of the 2008-2012 Three Year Strategic Plan; more so, the World Bank strengthen her role in assisting the countries in Africa through developing shared growth and enlarging partnership with the AU/NEPAD; while the European Union also established partnership with the African Union to ensure democratic governance are practiced in African states as well as the fight against corruption, human rights abuse so as to enhance their respective views on democracy and good governance in African states and also the promotion of APRM processes (AU/NEPAD, 2009).

3.6 The Role of NEPAD on Peace and Security in Nigeria

The work have discussed in the early stage of this chapter three, the research work was able to draw an understanding on how NEPAD operates as an Agency of the African Union. Through the NEPAD headship known as the Heads of State and Government Orientation Committee (HSGOC), the recommendations of NEPAD Agency are thus passed to the African Union (AU) Assembly during their summit to hear and know what is going on in regards to the progress and development in implementing the said programmes and projects. In this regards, the Head of the NEPAD HSGOC reports to

the AU Assembly on issues related to peace and security within the AU member states for adequate action and implementation.

It is noted that, conflict within African states have greatly affected the economic growth and development of the countries within the continent. It has also affected the population of the countries involved where lives are killed during the conflicting periods before actions are taken in resolving such conflicts. According to AU/NEPAD (2009), an average of an estimated US\$18bn per year cost Africa on conflicts; such resources could be used in injecting into the African economy where it could benefit both the people and the government. These are the challenges that arise from the effects of conflict and insecurity where political stability becomes a thing of the past which need to be addressed.

The role of NEPAD on the issue of peace and security then becomes relevant in order to look into areas that could be addressed before such could turn into crisis, war, and may result into a state of political instability where killing of innocent people are involved as well as issues that led to war and political instability so as to look into the causes where resolutions could be made or addressed. According to NEPAD (2001) NEPAD therefore, sought to address the issues below through partnership with the government and other relevant agencies/departments/organizations on areas such as:

- i) Conflict prevention;
- ii) Conflict management;
- iii) Conflict resolution; and

iv) Post-Conflict reconstruction.

Peace building becomes a key to NEPAD programme initiative for the purpose of maintaining and obtaining peace, security and political stability in all the 54 countries in Africa. Nevertheless, some of the African countries are currently passing through crisis and some of the locations within such countries are regarded as war zones like what we are experiencing in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe states in Nigeria.

3.6.1 NEPAD Partnership

Partnership is an increase in relationship as a strategic alliance between two or more parties who become partners to achieve a common goal and objective. In other words, it is the relationship between NEPAD and other parties who become partners to form a strategic alliance. This is formed for the common goal of achieving the NEPAD's program initiatives in eradicating poverty in Africa, and placing her on the path of sustainable development (NEPAD Nigeria, 2014; NEPAD, 2014; Moolakkattu, 2010). Although for the purpose of this work, concerned is emphasized on partnership between NEPAD and other parties whose interest is to see that the peace and security objective is being implemented in Nigeria so as to have the restoration of political stability where the people are fully secured and protected thereby eliminating all forms of political and religious conflict.

The Nigerian polity is faced with series of political unrest since 2009 to date where there are several attacks on the federal, state, and local government institutions, as well as international institutions such as the UN building in Abuja. These attacks involves

killing of innocent souls including both Christians and Muslims, especially in the Northern part of the country (Ekereke, 2013; Agbiboa, and Maiangwa, 2013).

There is need for conflict resolution in Nigeria which should aim at providing lasting solutions to looming security problems, thereby calling the members of the Boko Haram sect to cease fire in order for the country to have a peaceful and secured environment, for both the Nigerian people and the government (Anofi, 2014). This will enable partners of NEPAD to engage in the development of the country through provision of job opportunities for the Nigerian youths, establishment of industries for the creation of wealth leading to economic growth and development, technological advancement and innovations (NEPAD Business Group-Nigeria, 2014).

It is therefore, the aim and objective of NEPAD to go into partnership with the civil society, private sector, local, state, and national government, regional bodies such as ECOWAS, SADC, continental and global community to develop Nigeria and indeed Africa placing her to the path of sustainable development with other developed countries of the world (NEPAD Nigeria, 2014).

Nafey (2005) the practical aspect of the integration theory is the involvement of other partners into the implementation of NEPAD programme initiatives as its name cannot be complete without mentioning the “New Partnership” for Africa’s Development. As such, NEPAD’s agreement with other parties as partners into the programme implementation cut across political, social, economic and cultural dimensions, within

and outside the African continent (NEPAD Nigeria, 2010). Some of the agreements that are reflected within the peace and security perspectives of NEPAD are those partners whose interest is to ensure that peace and security is promoted and sustained in Africa. These partners include the United Nations who works with the African Union to ensure that conflict prevention, management and resolutions are applied where necessary with all the needed attention.

Another partner of the NEPAD is the European Union which was established as a result of the EU-AU Partnership which had an agreement to support the implementation of NEPAD programme initiatives; it also goes beyond the peace and security objective to other initiatives and projects in areas such as Infrastructure, Climate Change, Energy, Science and Technology, Trade and Regional Integration. For the UK Government, they partner with NEPAD through their Agency known as the Department for International Development (DFID) whose interest is to provide aid to poor countries in order to eradicate poverty (NEPAD, 2014; African Union, 2014).

Bach (2013) noted some of the agreements in relation to Africa's integration into the global economy as exporting her manufacturing and distribution of such products under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) which they would send to the United States; while that of the European Union would be under the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (CPA); others are the China-Africa Cooperation, Korea-Africa Economic Cooperation, Turkey-Africa Cooperation, and they are carried out through the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA).

3.7 Chapter Summary

Chapter three of this research has focused on the domestication of NEPAD in Nigeria and it has covered the historical background of NEPAD from the period of the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The chapter has furthered the discussion on how the OAU was later transformed to the African Union (AU), on which the NEPAD was established as an agency of the AU. The chapter also focused on understanding the primary objectives of NEPAD in Nigeria on how issues of poverty eradication, empower of women and youths may impact the security of the country. The other issues discussed in this chapter covers priorities of NEPAD in Nigeria, the principles and values of NEPAD in Nigeria, the APRM's implementation in Nigeria, and the role of NEPAD in implementing Peace and Security programme initiatives in Nigeria.



CHAPTER FOUR

THE SECURITY DYNAMICS OF NIGERIA 2009-2014: THE BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on the security dynamics of Nigeria from 2009-2014 under the leadership of late President Yar'Adua and President Goodluck Jonathan. Omede (2011) noted that the country witnessed the first bomb attack under President Jonathan's led government on the 1st of October, 2010 in Abuja. Tension in the Northern part of the country became high as Jonathan prepared for the contest especially towards the end of 2010 and the early 2011, as the Northern political elites did not want him to contest for the country's highest position. This was in view of their political arrangement within President Jonathan's ruling political party known as the People's Democratic Party (PDP). According to the Northern political elites, the PDP which had been the country's ruling party since 1999 when President Olusegun Obasanjo took over power from the military administration, had zoned the office of the President from 1999 to 2007 to be occupied by a Southerner, while from 2007 to 2015, it was to be occupied by a Northerner (Awofeso, 2014; Joseph, 2014).

That notwithstanding, the ambition of President Jonathan could not allow him to hide his quest for power even though the Northern political elites wanted him to allow them to contest without a Southerner. This was in view of the fact that President Jonathan is from the Southern part of the country, a Christian and from Bayelsa State, an oil producing state from the Niger-Delta (Campbell, 2010; Omede, 2011; Joseph, 2014). As the tension went on, the Ijaw ethnic group of whom President Jonathan is a son stood by him to contest or else their youths would pick up arms against Nigeria. This became a serious issue since all the states in the Niger-Delta felt it was an opportunity for their son to contest for the position of the president, win and rule the country, since their region which is the major source of foreign income for Nigeria, had been producing oil for the country (Campbell, 2010).

Two ideologies stood in the face of the country posed by both the North and the South. The North wanted political power to be returned to them since the person of late President Yar'Adua could not complete his tenure due to illness and as such, the PDP as a ruling party had zoned the seat of the President to the North from 29th of May, 2007 to 29th of May, 2015 and would then return to a Southerner to occupy the seat as President (Campbell, 2010; Joseph, 2014). The other one was the feeling of the South through the Niger-Delta region who felt since Nigeria got her independence, the South-South geopolitical zone which comprise of Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers States, have not contested and won to occupy the seat of the President. Therefore, an opportunity has come for their own son who is the incumbent President to go ahead and contest for the seat and become an elected president.

4.2 The Ruling Political Party and the Boko Haram Security Dynamics

It is very vital and so important to assess the ruling political party in Nigeria, from 1999 to 2011 with a view of a period of twelve (12) years to give a clear understanding of what others attributed to the present insecurity challenge posed by the Boko Haram. It was allegedly seen as a tool for the North in fighting for what they felt cheated by the internal workings of the ruling party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) as posited by the former National Security Adviser to the President (Limam, 2014). The major burning issue within the PDP which was not well handled between 2010 and 2011, it thus became a pointing finger for the North against the PDP and the personality of President Goodluck Jonathan, especially during campaigns for the general elections in April, 2011 (Joseph, 2014).

The contradicting issue is the zoning arrangements of political offices by the ruling party between the periods stated above. Such political offices are the six prominent offices occupied by the six geo-political zones as party political arrangements. These offices are:

- 1) The seat of the President;
- 2) The seat of the Vice-President;
- 3) The seat of the Senate President;
- 4) The seat of the Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives;
- 5) The seat of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation; and
- 6) The seat of the Chairman of the ruling party (PDP).

These are the offices that were zoned in relation to the six geo-political zones within the federation of Nigeria. It therefore means, each of those offices were allocated to each of the six-geopolitical zones in order to have an all representation of the regions within the government where all the zones would feel represented and not cheated or left out of power sharing (Awofeso, 2014). Therefore, by so doing, there will be equal representation and the minorities would also be represented since the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria are the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba, while the country has more than 300 hundred ethnic groups divided mostly among the Christians and the Muslims.

These six geopolitical zones are:

- 1) North East
- 2) North West
- 3) North Central
- 4) South East
- 5) South West and
- 6) South-South

These are the zones representing the thirty-six (36) states of the federation having 7 states in the North West namely Sokoto, Zamfara, Kebbi, Jigawa, Kano, Kaduna, and Katsina; 6 states in the North East namely Bauchi, Gombe, Taraba, Yobe, Adamawa and Borno; 6 states in North Central namely Benue, Plateau, Nasarawa, Niger, Kogi, and Kwara; 6 states in the South West namely Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, and Ekiti; 5 states in South East namely Enugu, Anambra, Abia, Ebonyi, and Imo; and 6 states in the South-South namely Edo, Delta, Bayelsa, Rivers, Cross River and Akwa Ibom (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2014).

The work of Campbell (2010) and Joseph (2014) observed that, in understanding such zoning arrangements which were agreed by the party stakeholders of the ruling party between the period of study as listed above, it was a means of having all the zones equally represented at the federal level where national unity, peace and national integration would be obtained among the people and the government of Nigeria. By so doing, they sought for political wisdom through allocation of the six prominent political offices to the six geopolitical zones to have equal representation as seen below:

Table 4.1

First Example of Zoning

Political Office	Geopolitical Zone	Duration
President	South West	1999 to 2007
Vice President	North East	1999 to 2007
Senate President	South East	1999 to 2007
Speaker of the House of Representatives	North West	1999 to 2007
Secretary to the Government of the Federation	South-South	1999 to 2007
Chairman of PDP	North Central	1999 to 2007

Source (Author's Compilation).

This was how the political offices were allocated to each of the zones from the period of 1999 to 2007 which was two terms duration of four (4) years each, bringing in all the zones equally represented. Again, the three (3) major ethnic groups were also equally represented namely Hausa-Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba, while the minorities were equally represented from the zones of South-South, North Central and North East. The Hausa-Fulani are mostly from the North Western states even though part of the North Eastern states such as Taraba, Bauchi and Adamawa, having the presence of the Fulanis. The Igbo people are found in the South Eastern states without any other ethnic group in that

zone with them, unlike the North West zone, there are other ethnic groups especially in Kaduna state. The South West zone is purely the Yoruba people just like the South East where there are only the Igbo people within that zone. However, the Igbos are also found in South-south states such as Delta and Rivers states, while the Yorubas are found also in North Central states such as Kwara and Kogi states (Ehwarieme, 2011).

The arrangements of political offices from 2007 to 2011 are shown below for more understanding:

Table 4.2

Zoning in 2007-2011

Political Office	Geopolitical Zone	Duration
President	North West	2007 to 2011
Vice President	South-South	2007 to 2011
Senate President	North Central	2007 to 2011
Speaker of the House of Representatives	South West	2007 to 2011
Secretary to the Government of the Federation	North East	2007 to 2011
Chairman of PDP	South East	2007 to 2011

Source (Author's Compilation).

This is how the political offices were arranged after the first two terms that were occupied by a Southerner, a Christian, from South West, in person of President Olusegun Obasanjo, from 1999 to 2007 having four (4) years each within a spread of 1999 to 2003, 2003 to 2007, making a total number of eight (8) years. However, the political office of the Vice President was occupied by a Northerner, a Muslim, from the North East, in the person of Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, from 1999 to 2007. During these periods of leadership, there was no crisis between the North and the South over who must be the president of the country since the ruling political party (PDP) agreed among

and within themselves on the allocation of political offices in the various zones as explained above (Campbell, 2010; Joseph, 2014).

Furthermore, between 2007 to 2011, the zoning of political offices were still in order without any crisis since the South had ruled for eight (8) years under the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo from 1999 to 2007, thereby providing the opportunity for the North to also rule for a period of eight (8) years as agreed by the party in 2003. Joseph (2014) noted that the North would hold the political office from 2007 to 2015 and that would be a Muslim while a Christian from the South would be the Vice President from the same period of eight years which forms a two consecutive terms of four (4) years each as shown below.

Table 4.3

Northern Proposal of Zoning 2007-2015

Political Office	Geopolitical Zone	Duration
President	North West	2007 to 2015
Vice President	South-South	2007 to 2015
Senate President	North Central	2007 to 2015
Speaker of the House of Representatives	South West	2007 to 2015
Secretary to the Government of the Federation	North East	2007 to 2015
Chairman of PDP	South East	2007 to 2015

Source (Author's Compilation).

In a practical sense of reasoning, these arrangements were showcased to instill peace and unity among the Christians and the Muslims in Nigeria, where the principle of federalism which sought to promote national integration among the people as well as political stability would be obtained. However, after the death of President Yar'Adua on the 5th of May, 2010, the political arrangements automatically changed as empowered by

the Nigerian constitution on the death of the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Vice President would take over the Seat of the President and he/she would be sworn in as the President (Ajayi and Adesote, 2013; Awofeso, 2014).

Therefore, on the 6th of May, 2010, the Vice President Goodluck Jonathan was sworn in as the President of Nigeria even though he was already acting as the President from the 9th of February, 2010, since the President was very sick and could no longer carry out the duties of a President. When Dr. Goodluck Jonathan became the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from 6th of May, 2010, it became an ambition in him to rule Nigeria through a contest for the political office after completing the four year tenure of his boss, late President Yar'Adua on the 29th of May, 2011. By so doing, President Jonathan began campaigns for his contest for the position of the President against April, 2011 general election where he could be elected by Nigerians during the general election (Idonor, 2011).

As his campaigns went on, the Northern candidates stood against President Jonathan's candidature for the political seat of the president come 2011, April general elections. This is where the problem started, to the Northern elites, it was not time for a Southerner to contest for the 2011 general elections seat of the President until 2015, when the North had occupied the seat for a period of eight (8) years in two consecutive terms. However, President Jonathan used the powers of an incumbent President and then went ahead to contest for the April, 2011 general elections where he won the election and was sworn in

on the 29th of May, 2011 as the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Idonor, 2011; Joseph, 2014).

During the campaigns for the highest position in Nigeria, a few Northerners contested for the position of the President while persuading President Jonathan not to contest in the April general elections, that it was still the turn of the North to occupy the seat of the President till 2015 due to the political arrangements of the ruling party, the PDP. Among the contestants in the PDP from the North were former Head of State and Commander-in-Chief, General Ibrahim Babangida 1985 to 1993, former Vice President Alhaji Atiku Abubakar 1999 to 2007, the former Governor of Kwara State, Dr. Bukola Saraki 2003 to 2011 who was later elected Senator representing a Federal Constituency in Kwara State 2011 to date, former National Security Adviser (NSA) to President Jonathan, General Aliyu Gusau who resigned and contested against his boss, President Jonathan, and Mrs. Sarah Jubril (Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012).

However, the Northern political elites called on all their four candidates who were men and all Muslims, to allow them do a consultation among themselves in order to come out with one candidate from among them who would contest against President Goodluck Jonathan in the PDP primary election for a flag bearer against other political parties. Jonathan was the only candidate from the South in that elections who stood against five candidates from the North given a good meaning that the votes would be divided among the Northerners, while President Jonathan would carry a block of votes from the South. The Northern political elites came out with Atiku Abubakar to represent the North not

minding Mrs. Sarah Jubril to contest against President Jonathan in the primaries, while the other three candidates Babangida, Gusau and Saraki to step down for Alhaji Atiku Abubakar (Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012).

Onwudiwe and Berwind-Dart (2010) observed that President Jonathan through the recommendation of the National Council of State which comprise all the past leaders (Presidents and Heads of States), retired and serving Chief Justices of the Supreme Courts, and the serving Governors, appointed the new head of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Indeed, the whole country celebrated his appointment being a just man and the person of integrity in the person of Prof. Atahiru Jega, the Vice Chancellor of Bayero University Kano. The new INEC boss conducted transparent elections were the entire process and collation of election results, to the announcement of the winners of the election was televised to the general public through the national television channels such as NTA, AIT, and Channels Television (Kew and Philips, 2013; Nwokeafor, 2013).

The work of Oguntola-Laguda (2015) and Lewis (2011) observed that, President Jonathan of the PDP won the general elections against other political parties such as CPC whose flag bearer was the former Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Mohammadu Buhari. The ACN whose flag bearer was Nuhu Ribadu, ANPP whose flag bearer was former Governor of Kano State 2003 to 2011, Alhaji Ibrahim Shekarau who later defected to

the PDP in 2014 and appointed Minister of the Federal Ministry of Education by President Jonathan.

All these candidates were from the North and they are all Muslims. Their political parties felt it was still the period for a Northern candidate to occupy the seat of the President even though PDP went the other way producing a Southerner as their flag bearer. There were massive protests in some parts of the states in the North when Jonathan won the general elections. It was during this period that the killing of people and bombings of some places in the Northern part of Nigeria started, thereby increasing insecurity challenges and political instability till date, period under study.

As such, there were Northern political elites from PDP who were very unhappy with President Jonathan and the National Working Committee of the PDP. They were not happy with the PDP for going against the political arrangements which had already been agreed upon in the PDP constitution in relation to power rotation, otherwise known as zoning of political offices as discussed earlier. However, the Northern Governors wanted a Second Term which constituted another period of four years, to add to the first term of four years of which they were elected in 2007, and for this, they gave support to President Jonathan in order for him to contest for the presidential elections in April, 2011. As such, those governors who never cared about the issue of President Jonathan's contest only cared enough for their personal interests of coming back in 2011 as governors after the April General Elections (Awopéju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012; Awofeso, 2014).

The issue was so clear when the Governors took their delegates who voted for President Jonathan against the Northern presidential candidate in person of Alhaji Atiku Abubakar who lost to Jonathan even in his own state and all the states in the North East Zone where Atiku Abubakar hails from. Alhaji Atiku Abubakar won in only five states out of the total number of nineteen states in the Northern part of the country. It became so clear that President Jonathan was widely accepted by the party delegates after winning in all the states in the Southern part of the country and fourteen states in the Northern part of the country during the primary election of the PDP, to become the party flag bearer in the general elections in which he also won (Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012).

Abdullahi and Sakariyau (2013) noted how the Northern political elites demonstrated their grievances when the PDP zoned the seat of the speaker of the Federal House of Representative to the South West zone, and the Northern leaders and the political elites supported a Northern candidate against the zoning formula in order to pay back for what the PDP refused to agree upon during the presidential elections, where President Jonathan did not agree to step down for the North to contest and win. By so doing, the Federal House of Representatives worked against the PDP who zoned the Speakership to South West, and voted for the North West candidate who became the Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives in the 2011 House of Representatives election. They elected Hon. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal from Sokoto state as the House of Representatives' Speaker since Former President Obasanjo who is from the South West gave support to President Jonathan against the North and also against the zoning formula of which he was very much a part of from the beginning (Joseph, 2014). After

all the elective positions were carried out, the North ended up having four positions while the South had two out of the six prominent offices as shown below:

Table 4.4

When Zoning was Truncated in 2011

Political Office	Geopolitical Zone	Duration
President	South-South	2011 to 2015
Vice President	North West	2011 to 2015
Senate President	North Central	2011 to 2015
Speaker of the House of Representatives	North West	2011 to 2015
Secretary to the Government of the Federation	South East	2011 to 2015
Chairman of PDP	North East	2011 to 2015

Source (Author's Compilation).

However, this political arrangement is not part of the Nigerian Constitution which supersedes all other constitutions in the land including the PDP constitution. This is where President Jonathan got his powers and the free will to contest for the position of the President of Nigeria not minding whatever agreement he had entered into with the PDP in the past before 2011 general elections. The power of the highest seat would rotate from the South in 1999 to 2007 and then shift to the North in 2007 to 2015 making a period of eight years each between the North and the South. This is where the problem came from, where the youths took arms against the Nigerian government and the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan after his emergence as winner of the presidential election which brought him into power on the 29th of May, 2011(Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012).

The Nigerian constitution which the Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekarau has opposed in his messages through his video records as well as the killing of Christians in

the North knowing that President Jonathan is a Christian. Also, the killing of Muslims by Boko Haram is as a result of those Muslims who are in support of the Nigerian government and President Jonathan's administration as well as those Muslims who are against the attacks by the Boko Haram (Naija-Gists, 2014).

The attacks on the innocents souls in the Northern part of the country is a way of calling for attention that the Boko Haram are still in the fight against the Nigerian government, they have killed so many lives especially the innocent souls in places such as the markets, motor parks, in the communities, government institutions and private institutions through bombings where both Christians and Muslims alike were victims (The Trent, 2014; Naija-Gists, 2014). At the end of this research work, solutions would be proffered in order to restore unity, peace and security in Nigeria where political stability would reign, and the youths would equally drop their arms against the people and government of Nigeria.

4.3 The Truncated Zoning Arrangement and Boko Haram Security Dynamics

Since the return of democratic rule in 1999, the Nigerian state felt a sense of oneness since the six geopolitical zones were all shared top positions that gave them an opportunity to govern as seen in table 4.4 above. The PDP as the then ruling political party zoned the presidency to the Northern part of the country since the Southern part of the country had ruled for eight years through President Olusegun Obasanjo. Omodia and Egwemi (2011) in their work, concurred that Nigerian presidency was zoned in the

Southern part of the country for eight years from 1999-2007 on whom the leadership of the country was vested under the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo.

After the tenure of Obasanjo, power was shifted to the Northern part of the country where President Yar'Adua emerged on the 29th of May 2007, the handover date. This power shift to the North was to last for another eight years 2007-2015 since the South had ruled for eight years as some of the Northerners within the PDP argued that it was still their turn to rule from 2011-2015 even though President Yar'Adua died on the 5th of May, 2015 thereby creating a vacuum that brought in the Vice-President Jonathan to take over as president; whereas some of the PDP members from the North supported the Southerners that President Jonathan was eligible to contest for the president in 2011 presidential elections since Yar'Adua died (Ojukwu, and Olaifa, 2011).

This was the genesis of the crises on the issue of zoning of the presidency which the North felt they were marginalized by the South during the democratic dispensation as the country saw the PDP truncated the zoning arrangement thus, paving way for President Jonathan to contest and to win the 2011 presidential election which North thought otherwise power should have remained in the North (Awopeju, Adelusi, and Oluwashakin, 2012). Table 4.8 below clearly illustrates the zoning formula in 2007. It will further give us an understanding of what went wrong after the truncated zoning arrangement within the PDP which will provide us with bases for interpretation of the research in resolving the root causes of crisis in Nigeria.

Table 4.5

Zoning of Political Position from 2007-2011

S/No.	Political Position	Zone
1	President	North-West
2	Vice-President	South-South
3	Senate President	North-Central
4	Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives	South-West
5	Secretary to the Government of the Federation	North-East
6	Chairman of the PDP (the ruling political party)	South-East

Source Awopeju, Adelusi, and Oluwashakin (2012).

This is show political positions were zoned by the PDP in 2007-2011 for tenure of four (4) years as seen above in table 4.5. Jonathan's contest for the Presidency in 2011 led to the truncated zoning arrangement. This was the major source of the political conflict between the North and South during the democratic rule. The table 4.6 below shows how clearly the feelings of the North on the truncated zoning arrangement in PDP and the reflection of the northern position in relation of power control since the return of democracy in 1999.

Table 4.6

The leadership of Nigeria between the North and South 1966-2015

S/No.	Name (Head of State/President)	Region	Religion
1	Gen. Yakubu Gowon (1966-1975)	North	Christian
2	Gen. Murtala Mohammed (1975-1976)	North	Muslim
3	Major-Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo (1976-79)	South	Christian
4	President Shehu Shagari (1979-1983)	North	Muslim
5	Major-General M. Buhari (1983-1985)	North	Muslim
6	Gen. Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993)	North	Muslim
7	Ernest Shonekan (1993-1993)	South	Christian
8	Gen. Sani Abacha (1993-1998)	North	Muslim
9	Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar (1998-1999)	North	Muslim

Table 4.6 (continued)

Term THE RETURN OF NIGERIAN DEMOCRATIC RULE IN 1999			
1999-2003	President Olusegun Obasanjo (4 years)	South	Christian
2003-2007	President Olusegun Obasanjo (4 years)	South	Christian
2007-2010	President Umaru Yar'Adua (2 years) 341 days	North	Muslim
2010-2011	President Goodluck Jonathan (1 year) 25 days	South	Christian
2011-2015	President Goodluck Jonathan (4 years)	South	Christian
Source Akinboye and Anifowose (2008); Ayantayo (2009).			

The above table 4.6 distinguishes on how the country has been ruled from 1999-2015 with the view of understanding the issues that led to the climax of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria. Boko Haram activities against the Nigerian government started in 2009 but their activities were brought to an end during the President Yar'Adua administration in the same 2009. However, the issue of the truncated zoning arrangement within the PDP created the major problem that led to the Northern crisis against the government as cited General Andrew Owoye Azazi's disposition during the South-South summit held in April, 2012 (Limam, 2014).

On table 4.6 above, the change in leadership of the country occurred between three leaders from 1999-2010 during the democratic rule that produced President Olusegun Obasanjo, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua and President Goodluck Jonathan; President Obasanjo ruled for eight years of two consecutive terms of 1999-2003 and 2003-2007 as a Southerner. However, in 2007, power was shifted to the North which

brought in President Umaru Yar'Adua as a Northerner. He could not finish his first tenure of four years due to ill health that led to his death in 2010 (Olaiya, Apeloko, Amanchukwu and Shiyabade, 2014).

In view of the truncated zoning arrangement and the increased attacks by the Boko Haram in the Northern part of the country, Dr. Franck Abagen of the Department of Political Science, Benue State University, argued that:

The Boko Haram issue, its root is different, but they took advantage of the situation. There are many factors that led to the emergence of Boko Haram: political, economic and many others such as religious issues too. But the main thing here that I will pick out is the disagreement over the zoning. The PDP had a zoning arrangement rotating the presidency within the north and south after 8 years. We have six geo-political zones but if you are going to collapse those you have in the North and the South then, you will see 3 geo-political zones in the north and 3 in the south. So when it is zoned to the south, within those 3 geo-political zones they will internally agree where it should go, that's how the rotation goes. So Jonathan was Vice president to Yar'Adua from Katsina state, Jonathan was from Bayelsa state. The agreement was that after Obasanjo, the presidency was in the south for 8 years. So the general agreement was that the presidency would go to the North. So it went actually, Yar'Adua was president, but you know how the circumstances went. He was ill and he later died. Constitutionally, the vice president succeeds the president when the president is incapacitated, that's what the law says. But you see the thing is that the law does not take into circumstances our cultural, ethnic and political interest. So the North felt slighted yes, so they didn't quite agree with that government. In fact, within the ruling party itself that is where the disagreement came. We can see what later played, many governors left the party because they felt that their interest were no longer represented. It went further when Jonathan now contested. Their thinking was that Jonathan should not have contested. It should have been a Northern candidate who should have contested. But because he contested, it threw the zoning arrangement upside down. This is also why the former or late National Security Adviser, General Andrew Azazi, said the security challenges we were having including Boko Haram was brought about because of the political zoning arrangement

that was not honoured by political parties involved (24th March, 2015).

President Jonathan's ambition to contest for the Position of the president in 2011 generation after assuming office as the president on the 6th of May, 2010 after the death of President Yar'Adua on the 5th of May, 2010, became a political conflict within his political party (PDP) since the North felt it was wrong for President to contest the elections in 2011. The North expected President Jonathan to allow only Northern candidates to contest in the 2011 presidential election after ending the first tenure of the Late Umaru Yar'Adua since the Presidency was zoned to the North after eight years of Southern leadership under President Olusegun Obasanjo as seen in table 4.6 above. The North felt President Jonathan could use the power of incumbency over them (North) to achieve his ambition. This led to the speech by Alhaji Lawal Kaita who said:

The North will make the Nigerian State ungovernable for President Jonathan if he does not step down for the Northern candidates and allow the Presidency to be zoned to the North. Nothing short of Northern candidate to emerge as PDP Presidential bearer will be unacceptable and if President Jonathan goes ahead against zoning and contest, and eventually wins the 2011 elections, the North will make Nigeria ungovernable (PM News, 2010, October 8; Umoru, 2012).

General Andrew Owoye Azazi, also on the 27th of April, 2012, during the South-South Economic Summit which was held from the 26th -28th of April in Asaba, Delta State, Organized by six States in the South-South geopolitical zone known as Bayelsa, Rivers, Akwa Ibom, Edo and Delta (BRACED) posits that:

The extent of violence by the Boko Haram Insurgent Group in Nigeria increased when the President Goodluck Jonathan declared of his candidature to contest in the 2011 Presidential election under the PDP, and that PDP got it wrong by not following the rules and regulations of

the Party and not according to the constitution. That is what created the climate of the Boko Haram conflict. The issue of Boko Haram is not just about Religion, Poverty and the desire to rule Nigeria and even if all the Boko Haram leaders are arrested, the situation (Boko Haram conflict) will not end until issues that led to the conflicts are comprehensively handled (Channels Television, April 27, 2012).

What are the issues that led to the Boko Haram crisis as posits by General Andrew Azazi during the April 26-28, 2012, 2nd South-South Summit held in Delta State? General Azazi noted that the PDP got it wrong by not allowing their rules and regulations as stipulated within the PDP Constitution to be practice but rather truncated the zoning arrangement which created the climate of Boko Haram conflict in Nigeria. Thus, the Boko Haram became better trained and equipped to fight a political battle against the President Jonathan's led administration whom the Alhaji Lawal Kaita, a Northerner, had warned the PDP in 2010 that anything short of Northern candidate as PDP Presidential flag bearer will not be accepted and the North will make Nigeria ungovernable if President Jonathan goes ahead to win the PDP primaries to contest for President in 2011 general elections (News Rescue, August 4th, 2014).

The truncated zoning arrangements, Dr. Franck Abegen further argued that:

The zoning thing for us helps in the sense that, there are cries about marginalization. So when you now say or agree that ok, after this area has enjoyed the state in leadership position, it should go to another area. It's commonsensical. You can see that as being fair. We even have some semblance of zoning called Federal Character Commission where in appointment you must make sure that all the zones are represented, it creates a level playing ground and creates a situation where everybody feels he is part of the political system. If you don't do that, you create a situation where people will feel marginalized in their own country and it creates unrest and insecurity. So this is the situation. I think we have to get to a stage where our political class has to learn that there is a tomorrow and power

is transient. We can see it. The first time in Nigeria we had an opposition taking over power, it never happened before. I guess if you told some people years back that Buhari was going to become the president of this country, a lot of them would have said 'No'. We should learn to honour political agreements. It's very important and as we learn to do that, like you rightly said, we'll have a more mature political system and a more reliable one at that and predictable (24th March, 2015).

According to Nwabughioibu (2013) a former governor of Anambra State, Chief Chukwuemeka Ezeife, in an interview also alleged that, it is not only Lawal Kaita but other prominent Northerners are behind the attacks on Nigeria to make the country ungovernable as the nation is soaked with blood from the attacks therein. General Andrew Azazi noted that since the PDP got it wrong by neglecting the call of the North to rule in 2011 as a result of the internal workings of the PDP that truncated the zoning arrangement, thus, the situation led to a well-funded and better equipped Boko Haram to fight back the government; General Azazi also noted that arresting all the leader won't solve the problem (Liman, 2014). Similarly, Mr. Ogwuche who confessed to have masterminded the April 14th, 2014 Abuja bombing also revealed that they (Boko Haram Insurgent Group) are well-funded and highly equipped and even with the capacity to fight the government and overrun the country Nigeria (The Trent, July 22nd, 2014).

President Jonathan's campaign in 2014 towards the 2015 presidential election after the zoning was truncated in 2011 angered the North against Jonathan. The Boko Haram further increased their attacks in 2014 with the Nyanya bombing in Abuja, and the Chibok Girls adoption in Borno State on the same day 14th of April, 2014. The leader of the Boko Haram insurgents, Abubakar Shekau, further narrated why they are fighting the Nigerian state in a 57 minutes video and the reasons for the Chibok Girls kidnapped (Nigerian Eye, May 8, 2014; Naija Gists, May 5, 2014). Although, Jonathan in 2011,

told Nigerians in Diaspora he was not going to contest the 2015 presidential elections but as he was elected that year for four years tenure 2011-2015, the president still nursed another ambition and was campaigning for the 2015 presidential elections that made the Boko Haram to attack the country in 2014 more than even the previous year such as the Chibok girls abduction (Idonor, 2011; Omonobi, Akoni, Marama, Olowoopejo, Olatunji and Olatunji, 2014, May 6th).

4.4 The Key Issues Raised by Boko Haram

President Jonathan's ambition and campaign towards the 2015 presidential election attracted more attacks on the Nigerian state since the war on the country against his government from 2011-2015 could not prevent Jonathan from contest the 2015 elections, the Boko Haram launched more attacks in order to attract more attention towards their demands as asserted by Aminu Ogwuche (The Trent, July 22, 2014). After the abduction of the Chibok Girls, the Boko Haram leader, Abubakar Shekau, in his longest video released of 57 minutes as at 2014, discussed intensively on their demands and why they are fighting the Government of Nigeria and yet the government is not winning the war. These key issues as discussed by Abubakar Shekau are:

- (i) Democracy,
- (ii) Christians,
- (iii) Nigerian Constitution,
- (iv) Muslims who are supporting Christians and
- (v) Western Education.

Let us look into this issues holistically and examine what went wrong with these issues raised by the Boko Haram leader, with a view of understanding their quest and the role NEPAD has played in relation to resolving the conflict therein.

4.4.1 Democracy

The Nigerian State since the independence has witnessed two major forms of governance namely civilian and military rule. In table 4.5 of this chapter, it clearly shows how the leadership went on from the time of independence on the 1st of October, 1960 to 1999. On that table, the Nigerian government was led by Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as the Prime Minister from 1960-1966, he was a Northerner and a Muslim. While Nnamdi Azikiwe was the President, known as the Head of State, he was a Southern and a Christian (Akinboye and Anifowose, 2008).

January 16, 1966, the country witnessed the first military coup that brought in a Southern, Major-General Aguiyi-Ironsi as the Head of State. However, Aguiyi-Ironsi led government was topped by another counter-coup which was led by the Northerners and at the end of the coup, a Christian emerged as the Head of State from the current Plateau State in person of General Gowon Yakubu as seen in table 4.6 above.

In table 4.6 above, it clearly shows when the military took over government in 1966 and the leadership of the country as it went to the Northern part of the country led by General Yakubu Gowon. On the same table five (5), from 1966 to 1999, the country experienced her leadership under nine (9) leaders out of whom seven of them where

from the North and only two were from the Southern part of the country. In 1966-1999 as seen in table 4.6 again; out of the thirty-three (33) years (1966-1999) of leadership of the country, the North ruled the country for thirty (30) years and these years were mostly governed under the military administration and not years under the democratic rule.

Among the leaders who ruled Nigeria from 1966-1999 who were from the Northern part of the country consist of General Yakubu Gowon (1966-1975: Military Rule); General Murtala Mohammed (1975-1976: Military Rule); President Shehu Shagari (1979-1983: Democratic Rule); Major-General Mohammadu Buhari (1983-1985: Military Rule); General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993: Military Rule); General Sani Abacha (1993-1998: Military Rule) and General Abdulsalami Abubakar (1998-1999: Military Rule).

This shows that, out of the seven leaders who ruled Nigeria between the periods of 1966-1999 whom were Northerners, only one of them (President Shehu Shagari, 1979-1983) was a democratically elected president while the rest six were military Head of State as seen in table 4.6 above.

The thirty-three years (1966-1999) of Nigeria's leadership as seen from table 4.6, the leadership of the country went to the South only twice under the leadership of General Olusegun Obasanjo (1976-1979: Military Rule) and under Chief Ernest Shonekan as an Interim Head of National Government August, 1993 to November, 1993. This shows that from 1966-1999, the Military ruled for a total number of twenty-nine years (29) out of the thirty-three years of Nigeria's leadership within these years while four years went to a democratic government from 1979-1984 as seen in table 4.6.

Democratically elected government was ushered in when the military decided to hand over power on the 29th of May, 1999. Under the democratic rule, we have four years of a single term in office and eight years of second term as allowed by the Nigerian constitution. There was power shift from the Northern part of the country to Southern part in 1999 during the return of democratic rule as seen in table 4.6 above. From 1999 to 2015 under the democratic rule, we have witnessed four (4) completed terms of sixteen (16) years out of which the power had resided in the Southern part of the country for thirteen (13) years under the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007: Eight years) and President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015: Five years).

The North ruled for only two years plus but less than three years since some of the months were rule by President Jonathan as the Acting President due to the ill-health of President Yar'Adua that later led to his death (2007-2010). During the democratic rule, the North battled for leadership of the country since the issue of rotational presidency between the North and South was no longer observed after the death of President Yar'Adua. The assumption of President Jonathan as the leader of the country on the 6th of May, 2010 widen his ambition to rule the country from 2011-2015 led to the truncated zoning arrangement which fueled the crisis in the Northern part of the country as led by the Boko Haram group (Liman, 2014).

During the Military regime, the North had rule for thirty (30) years while the South ruled for three (3) years within the total period of 1966-1999 though four years were under democratic rule 1979-1983. However, the return to democratic rule in 1999-2015

under study, the North ruled less than three years under President Yar'Adua out of the sixteen years of democratic rule. Abubakar Shekau, the leader of the Boko Haram group said categorically that, they are against Democracy, and also against President Jonathan (Nigerian Eye, May 8, 2014; Naija Gists, May 5, 2014; and Sahara Reporters, May 7, 2014).

The issue of rotation of presidency between the North and South became truncated when the PDP could not keep to their agreement/arrangement since zoning was no longer recognized by the PDP in order to pave way for President Jonathan in 2011 general elections, however, the position was originally zoned to the North before the death of President Yar'Adua on the 5th of May, 2010 (Olaiya, Apeloko, Amanchukwu, Shiyabade, 2014).

Truncated zoning which paved way for President Jonathan created the conflict between the North and South, thus, the North felt cheated and disintegrated into the Presidency/power sharing between the North and South. Abubakar Shekau, the Boko Haram leader clearly said, they are against Democracy and Abraham Lincoln. Shekau noted that, Democracy is a system of government that is used in deceiving the people and it was promoted by Abraham Lincoln of whom they (Boko Haram) are against it since it is a form of deception. As such, they are against the Abraham Lincoln's assertion of government of the people, by the people and for the people, which ended the speech that was given on the 19th of November, 1863 at the Gettysburg Address, Pennsylvania, by the then US President Abraham Lincoln (Presentation Magazine, April

20, 2009; Mclean and McMillan, 2009; Sahara Reporters, May 7, 2014; Abraham Lincoln Online, 2015).

4.4.2 Christians

According to General Andrew Azazi, the then National Security Adviser to the President Jonathan, in a speech during the South-South Summit held in Asaba, Delta State, on the 27th of April, 2012, the Boko Haram became a tool to fight the political conflict when Jonathan declared his intention to contest the 2011 presidential election which he, General Azazi, noted that PDP got it wrong for not allowing the zoning arrangement to the North rule in 2011. As such, the situation that created the Boko Haram attacks against the government has not been addressed and even if you arrest all the Leaders the of dreaded Boko Haram group in Nigeria, the insurgency will not end (Liman, 2014).

Mr. Aminu Ogwuche, who was extradited from Sudan for his involvement masterminding the Nyanya Bombing on the 14th of April, 2014, confessed to masterminded the bombing and he did it to draw the attention of the government regarding their (Boko Haram) demands; that, even if he is killed, there are so many members of the Boko Haram who are trained and they will continue the work of attacking both the government and the people. They also have links with foreign terrorist groups as well as been trained in Pakistan and Somalia in the act and science of terrorism (The Trent, April 14, 2014).

Abubakar Shekau, the Boko Haram leader who gave more evidence of abducting the Chibok Girls on the same day the Nyanya, Abuja bombing occurred on 14th of April, 2014, in a long video of 57 minutes disclosed that they are fighting against the Christians. Shekau also noted that, the Christians are infidels, thus the Boko Haram war is against the Christians and Christianity in Nigeria. That even if he is killed, by the Nigerian government coordinated Joint Tax Force (JTF) or the Civilian JTF, other members of the Boko Haram will rise and whom will be stronger than himself, Abubakar Shekau (Sahara Reporters, May 7, 2014).

What went wrong within the PDP as quoted by General Andrew Azazi? The truncated zoning arrangement within the PDP that led to the emergency of President Goodluck Jonathan as the PDP flag bearer who defeated the only candidate who other Northerners stepped down for to battle the ticket with the incumbent President Jonathan who later saved as the presidential candidate of PDP in the 2011 general elections (Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012). Since the incumbent President Jonathan was contesting against the candidates from the Northern part of the country within the PDP such as the former military Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida; then Governor of Kwara State, Bukola Saraki; former National Security Adviser to the President Jonathan, General Aliyu Gusau; and former Vice-President, Atiku Abubakar who were all Muslims from the North against President Jonathan, a Christian from the Southern part of the country. Although there was one female candidate known as Sarah Jubril from the North too but had no political weight like those of Babangida, Atiku, Gusau and Saraki.

The Northern elders went into a meeting that resulted Babangida, Gusau and Saraki to step down for Abubakar Atiku who was former Vice-President during the Olusegun Obasanjo led government 1999-2007 to contest against the incumbent President Jonathan, a Southerner and a Christian. During the PDP Primary elections to have a candidate who will be the party as flag bearer, Jonathan defeated both Atiku and Jubril who were all from the North. Jonathan eventually won the presidential elections in 2011 for tenure of four years 2011-2015. Table 6 below shows the number of states that were won by Jonathan against the two Northern candidates during the PDP primary elections.

Table 4.6 above on the other hand, clearly shows how the return to democratic rule has been given the opportunity for the Christians to rule more than the Muslim leadership in the affairs of the Nigerian state compare to that of the military rule from 1966-1999. Out of the sixteen years of democratic rule in Nigeria, the Christian led leadership of the country has dominated over the Muslim led leadership which prompted the fight in the North. Lawal Kaita, whom is known as one of the associates of Abubakar Atiku who was defeated by President Jonathan during the PDP primary elections as seen on table 6 below said, anything short of a Northern candidate from PDP and if Jonathan wins the 2011 general elections, the North will make the country ungovernable (PM News, October 8, 2010).

President Olusegun Obasanjo from the South led Nigeria for a period of eight (8) years of two terms 1999-2003, 2003-2007; President Jonathan also from the South led the country as President for five years of one term and completed tenure of the late

President Yar'Adua. Thus, Jonathan ruled as President from 6th of May, 2010 – 29th of May, 2011 to complete the Yar'Adua tenure and May 9th, 2011 to May 29th of 2015. The North's leadership of the country since the return to democratic rule, served only for two years out of the sixteen years of democratic rule 1999-2015 as seen in table 4.6 above. Boko Haram leader, Abubakar Shekau, said the fight is against the Christians and all Nigerians should know their status either you are for the Muslims or for the Christians (Sahara Reporters, May 7, 2015).

Table 4.7

States won by President Jonathan, Atiku and Jubril

States/Zones	President Jonathan	Abubakar Atiku	Sarah Jubril
North-West	Jigawa, Kaduna, Katsina.	Kano, Kebbi, Sokoto, Zamfara	Nil
North-Central	Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger, Plateau.	Nil	Nil
North-East	Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, Yobe.	Nil	Nil
South-West	Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Osun, Oyo, Ondo.	Nil	Nil
South-South	Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Edo, Rivers.	Nil	Nil
South-East	Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo.	Nil	Nil

Source Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, (2012).

4.4.3 Nigerian Constitution

After the death of President Yar'Adua, zoning of political positions and rotation of Presidency between the North and South was truncated within the PDP which gave

President Jonathan the grounds to contest for the Nigeria Presidential elections against the Northern candidates as seen in table 4.7 above and eventual defeated them to emerge as the PDP flag bear (Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012). Zoning was recognized within the PDP Constitution but not recognized by the Nigerian Constitution. According to Awofeso (2013) on the issue of zoning: the PDP Constitution as enshrined therein Article 7.2 [c] note in parts “the policy of rotation and zoning of party and public elective offices” which was to ensure the principle of equity, fairness to all the zones of the six geo-political regions and justice in sharing of political offices between the North and South, Christians and Muslims, Majority ethnic group and the minority ethnic groups in Nigeria in order to promote integration of the people, peace and unity among all Nigerians.

In October, 2010, as posted by *The Info Strides* (2010) on an interview with President Jonathan and Isha Sesay, the CNN Staff concerning the issue of peace and stability of the Nigerian State, a question was posed to find out the truncating zoning agreement between the North and South which was designed to have the president in the South for eight years and in North for another eight for the purpose of integrating the people, uniting them and sustaining peace and political stability, the President only gave an illustration between the hen and the egg, which one is older? This means that the Nigerian constitution supersedes the PDP constitution that enshrined zoning while there is no zoning in the Nigerian constitution and by implication; he was going to contest against the zoning arrangement within the PDP.

Iveren Uganden of the Department of Political Science, Benue State University, further agrees that:

Zoning arrangement is actually not in the Nigerian constitution. It is the principle that underlines the sharing of public offices in Nigeria, but it is not captured in the constitution, but the former arrangement that accommodates things like the Federal Character principle that informs appointments in the Federal Public Service. The aim is to ensure that no section of the country dominates others when it comes to the holding of political offices in the land. However, like I said, when it comes to elective offices, there is no constitutional provision that says certain zones should hold political offices at particular points in time. However, it was more of a gentleman's agreement within the PDP as a political party, so the problem with political parties in Nigeria is that sometimes, there is a tendency for them to mix up party provisions with what is constitutional, that is zoning was an internal arrangement of the PDP, not a constitutional provision of the Nigerian state. However, the death of Yar'Adua created a leadership gap that needed to be filled. Ordinarily, by the constitutional provision, the Vice President was supposed to take over in the event of the incumbent president not being able to continue the office whether as a result of incapacitation, or death, impeachment or whatever reason. The constitution provides that the next in command take over (24th March, 2015).

Iveren Uganden further argues that:

However, because this happened towards the period of election, the northern elements in the party felt that it was still within the period that power was supposed to remain in the North, because from 1999 -2007, the presidency was handled by a leader from the South. Olusegun Obasanjo was the President and he was from the South West. So according to their arithmetic, in 2007, power rotated back to the North that was why Yar'Adua was elected as president and Jonathan as the Vice, this was supposed to last till 2015, okay? For the next 8 years, power was supposed to remain in the North according to the PDP arrangement. However, when Yar'Adua died, it was even still within the first tenure, of course, it is not guaranteed that every government must do two tenures but that is the psychological expectations of Nigerians that whoever comes in must do two tenures of 8 years. So it was expected that Yar'Adua would last till 2015, and when he died, the perception of the North was that power should continue in the North. Goodluck Jonathan was only supposed to complete the first tenure, the perception of the North was that Goodluck Jonathan should have stayed in office only till 2011, and as at 2011, he

should have relinquished power for another Northerner to continue as president of the Nation. However, there are all kinds of undercurrents that drive Nigerian politics. While this was going on, the Niger Delta was agitating that they too had been marginalized (the leadership of the country), and so they were supported largely by the South-East. You know the Niger Delta is majorly the South-South, then the South East also supported the notion that they too deserve to produce a president of this country. And there was this almost militant agitation for the presidency of Jonathan in 2011, I personally travelled to Port Harcourt in late 2010 for a conference, and I met some people who were vehement and said if Jonathan does not contest, it was like a battle line that if he does not declare for presidency, there was going to be a war. They were insinuating all kinds of things. There was this push for his candidature, at the same time elements in the north were aggrieved that they were being short changed and that was not the arrangement, that the south and the rest of the country was going back on an existing truncated arrangement in order to shift power back to the South-South. However, like I said earlier, it is a little bit farfetched to directly link the disaffection of the North in terms of losing hold of the presidency to the threats of Boko Haram, however, it is still possible to establish links and these links have to do with firstly, the issue of lack of internal democracy within the PDP, you know as the dominant political party in Nigeria then, the decisions and actions of the party easily translated into the decisions of the government, even though these are two different bodies, because the party was in control of the government, it was very easy to translate or interpret the actions of the party as actions of the government. So the elements in the north were therefore dissatisfied that the government of Nigeria was denying them their own place in leadership or their turn in ruling Nigeria. But we must remember that the issue of Boko Haram predated this controversy, because the first time that the Nigerian state openly engaged members of that sect was under the Yar'Adua administration. I think that was in 2009, when their leader was killed. I mean the founding leader of the sect, it was a very small sect that was just active within Borno State, because you know mostly, the Islamist extremists most times their demand is the establishment of Sharia rule, they want sharia rule to be established in whatever territory they are laying claims over, so for most people that is the origin of Boko Haram in Nigeria, it was actually existing as an extremist Islamic sect that was also militant in terms of using arms in prosecuting their cause. Therefore, the group expanded activity into attacking civilians and others. And so the government of Yar'Adua was forced to engage in fight against the Boko Haram sect. The point I was trying to make was that, the link we might be able to establish between the zoning controversy and the rising insecurity and the threats of Boko Haram is that members of the party felt that

there was no internal democracy, the people within the party felt they had no say and that certain people were dictating/imposing candidates on the party without members of the party actually having the power to choose who became their flag bearers in the election. To that extent, you might be able to say that the zoning problem/controversy contributed to insecurity in the land because we noticed that from that period the frequency of Boko Haram attacks increased (24th March, 2015).

All those leaders who promoted the Constitution of Nigeria as asserted by Abubakar Shekau, such President Jonathan, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (first and only Prime Minister of Nigeria 1960-1966), and Aminu Kano are all infidels. As such, they the Boko Haram are against them since the Constitution is what was used as a tool to deceive the North as it was referred to (Sahara Reporters, May 7, 2014).

4.4.4 Muslims

Abubakar Shekau, the Boko Haram Leader in his long video also voiced out on the Muslims whom they (Boko Haram) are fighting against. These Muslims are subdivided into two categories:

- (a) Those supporting the Christians against the Boko Haram
- (b) Those Muslims who are fighting the Boko Haram as well as those supporting the people and Nigerian government.

Shekau in that video of 57 minutes lamented against the Christians and the Muslims who are supporting the Christians against them the Boko Haram. Since the Nigerian leadership was led by President Jonathan, the agreement between them the PDP as enshrined into the Party's constitution and also was supported by other Northerners who are Muslims for Jonathan to contest the 2011 elections against their party's constitution.

Table 4.7 above clearly shows how the PDP primaries was won by President Jonathan in most of the Northern states against Abubakar Atiku whom the likes of former military Head of State, Ibrahim Babangida; former Governor of Kwara State, Bukola Saraki and former National Security Adviser to President Jonathan, General Aliyu Gusau all stepped down for him. Yet, Atiku Abubakar could not defeat President Jonathan where all the states in the North-East were won by President Jonathan against Atiku. The states governors who were Muslims from the North also supported President Jonathan since they were also seeking for second tenure in office (Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin, 2012; Sahara Reporters, May 7, 2014).

Some of the Muslims who are also supporting both the Nigerian people and the government against the Boko Haram are all subject to attacks. The Boko Haram has demonstrated that during their November, 2014 attack on one of the biggest Mosque in Nigeria at the City of Kano where hundreds of worshipers were killed in the Mosque through the Boko Haram suicide bombing attack. On the 15th of November, 2014, the Emir of Kano, Muhammadu Sanusi II, during his address to the worshipers at the end of a weekly recitation of the Holy Quran which is part of praying for the Nigerian state for peace to retain in the country, the Emir of Kano urged the Nigerian people to defend themselves against the attacks from the Boko Haram and not always wait for soldiers to defend them (Tilde, 2014).

After the Emir of Kano told the people to defend themselves against the attacks from Boko Haram on the 15th of November, 2014, the same month of November, on the 28th day during Friday worship, the Boko Haram launched attacks at the same Mosque where

the Emir of Kano leads worship. This attack was the deadliest at Kano on a Muslims' worship center killing over 200 Muslims worshipers where 2 Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) exploded right inside the Mosque and one outside the Mosque during Jumat prayers (Daniel and Muhammad, 2014).

This notwithstanding, Abubakar Shekau released another video where he vehemently vowed to attack the Emir of Kano for his utterances against the Boko Haram while urging the people to defend themselves against the Boko Haram. As such, the leader of the Boko Haram noted that the Emir of Kano is not a true Muslim since he is against their (Boko Haram) ideology. Shekau further lamented that, his group are well prepared and ready to kill any Muslim who opposed them and such is a fake Muslim. Abubakar Shekau also distinguished Muslims who believed in his ideology as true Muslims while those against him as fake Muslims and they are worshipers of democracy and the Constitution (Lere, 2014).

4.4.5 Western Education

The Boko Haram has demonstrated their attacks on western education through the abduction of the Chibok girls on the 14th of April, 2014, the same day they also launched another attack on the Nyanya, Abuja bombing which killed more than fifty people. According to Aminu Sadiq Ogwuche in his confession to the security agency in Abuja when he was extradited from the Republic of Sudan, confessed that their (Boko Haram) actions and attacks on the people and Nigerian government is to draw the attention of the government to their demands (The Trent, July 22, 2014).

Ogwuche further explains that it is the time for the government to negotiate with them if not; they will continue their attack such as bombing and to fight against Western Education. Since President Jonathan, in the early part of the 2011 before the 2011 general elections said he was not going to contest the 2015 presidential elections but went on to campaign in 2014 for his second term ambition, the country received more attacks through bombing of places and the abduction to the Chibok girls from a secondary school on the same day that attack was lunched in Abuja (Daniel, 2011; Bring Back Our Girls, 2015).

A day after the two separate attacks on Chibok, Borno State and Nyanya, Abuja, on the same day of April 14th, 2014, the President Jonathan went on campaigning for his second term ambition in Kano, the city with the largest population from the Northern part of the country where the President was largely condemned for not been sensitive to the cry of Nigerian families especially those who were directly affected by the two separate attacks and the then largest Opposition political party in Nigerian (All Progressives Congress, 2014; Emmanuel, 2014).

4.5 The Effects of Insecurity on the People and the Government

There are many effects as a result of the activities of Boko Haram Islamic sect in Nigeria since 2009 to date (2014) which shall be discussing in the light of this research work and shall proffer solutions that would lead to conflict resolution between the government and the Boko Haram. It is of note that their activities have affected the country negatively especially the innocent people, the government of Nigeria, and

members of the diplomatic corps since the beginning of the attacks on Nigeria. These attacks started in the Northern part of the country especially in the Northeastern part of Nigeria largely across the states such as Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Bauchi, Taraba, and in 2014, Gombe State was not also left out of the attacks on the people, schools, government structures and facilities.

The Boko Haram attacks as viewed by Dr. Franck Abagen of the Department of Political Science, Benue State University, online a number of impacts as a result of insecurity as thus:

Well that's obvious. The first one is life isn't it? There is hope. You have a situation where somebody is coming for your life. That's the ultimate thing perhaps. So insecurity, and when you have insecurity, you cannot have normalcy, you cannot have law and order. All those particular things you take for granted in a so called normal society, you don't have them. There is a state where Thomas Hobbes mentioned that, life is nasty, brutish and short. More or less anarchy is not something we wish for. From our experiences in the North East, it is quite clear, the problem of Boko Haram, politically it has had an impact, socially it has had, economically it has had, psychologically it has had, those widows and orphans will be traumatized for life, it has fractured the educational system, even the environment, you constantly rain bombs on a particular environment, you think it's just a normal thing but, their habitat too is also suffering, like poisoning of birds too, it's like a war situation, so their impact is quite clear (24th March, 2015).

Notwithstanding, other parts of the country has also been affected with several attacks not only the Northeast but also the Northwest, North-central, and has extended to Lagos where the Boko Haram claimed responsibility of the Apapa bomb blast in Lagos (Premium Times, July 13th, 2014). What are the effects of this insecurity on the lives of the people? That is what the research would be discussing here to showcase the need to address this issue of insecurity which has threatened the lives of the people and driven

away peace and security, as well as political stability in Nigeria since the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan especially from 2010 to 2014. Although the situation is still ongoing and on this premise, this research seeks to find solutions where peace and security are concerned. Also, the political stability of Nigeria would return and not only NEPAD would effectively implement their programme initiatives in Nigeria, where there is a stable political environment as well as the people of Nigeria living in unity, peace and secured political environment.

4.5.1 Killing of the People

According to Premium Times (2014), the President of Nigeria, during the Regional Summit on Security in Nigeria that was held on the 17th of May, 2014 conveyed by the French President, Francois Hollande, in France, said over 12,000 Nigerians are killed as a result of the Boko Haram attacks on the people and government of Nigeria. This does not actually give the exact figure of the total number of people killed since the activities of the group includes killing, bombing, burning, attacks on public and private structures, and abduction of school students in the northern part of the country.

Another version of the Boko Haram is that of the herdsmen in disguise who pretend to be cattle herdsmen but go about killing the people in the northern part of the country such as Kaduna, Taraba, Benue, Katsina, Plateau, and Nasarawa states. This was confirmed during the arrest by the Nigerian military in Wukari, Taraba state. It came after the military had engaged them in a firefight where they were trailed after spotting them by air surveillance to their camp. Binniyat (2014) revealed that the group had

killed so many people in other states after Taraba as recorded in Kaduna state where over two hundred (200) people who were killed in Sankwai, Unguwan-Gata, and Tekum villages, while they also engaged in burning those villages in the Southern part of Kaduna state. This led to a mass burial of about one hundred and fifty (150) people in a grave all in one day.

On the 8th of March, 2010, there was also a mass burial where over 100 people were killed in an attack which claimed even the lives of children and women as they were not left out. The picture in *appendix 4* shows the mass burial that was conducted by the villagers who buried their people in that small village of Dogo Nahawa near Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria. Akinleye and Igwe (2010) further revealed that the herders forced the people in Dogo Nahawa village who were mostly Christians out of their houses and they were killed on the 7th of March, 2010. They were buried the following day while the Police and Soldiers stood by the villagers as they did so.

In Pela Bimi village located within the Hawul Local Government Area (LGA) of Borno State, Boko Haram killed two people on Sunday 16th of March, 2014. They proceeded in setting two churches and other houses ablaze during the attack on the Pela Bimi village on the same day. By so doing, they ordered the residents to leave their houses while they engaged in setting those houses ablaze. They were also using Improvised Explosive Devices (IED's) as well as the use of AK47 rifles on the innocent poor people in that community during their attacks on that village in Borno State which is said to be dominated by Christians (Marama, 2014).

Omonobi, Duru, and Marama (2014) on the 23rd of March, 2014, the people of Gbajimba, in Guma Local Government Area of Benue State witnessed another heavy attack by the suspected mercenaries who came in hundreds from Awe Local Government Area of Nasarawa State to Guma LGA while they engaged the Tiv youths who are owners of the land. During the attack, fifty five (55) people were killed. As the attack was going on, another one took place in Bama LGA of Borno State where IED's were planted at a market square suspected to be Boko Haram that killed 35 people same weekend.

However, on the same account of the Gbajimba attack, which is the headquarters of Guma Local Government Area of Benue State, another witness said not fewer than 25 people were killed in that attack. Uja, (2014) observed that they came with sophisticated weapons to attack the Tiv farmers who reside in Gbajimba community of Guma LGA. Some of the people who were injured during the attack were taken to the hospital located in the State capital known as Makurdi. This attack was on the 23rd of March, 2014 when some of the villagers went to church to worship. The wounded people were about 50 in number as some were taken to the Benue State University Teaching Hospital for medical treatment. *Appendix 6* shows the picture of an example of youths who attacked the villagers in Gbajimba, Guma LGA of Benue State.

According to Alli, Odunuga, and Ogunwale (2014), on the 30th of March, 2014, about 21 Boko Haram detainees died during their efforts to escape from the jail where they were detained by the State Security Service (SSS) at their headquarters located in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. The SSS headquarters is situated at the heart of Abuja

were the Presidential Villa is just opposite their headquarters, the Asokoro residence, as well as a couple of Embassies all located around the SSS headquarters in Abuja. Eighteen of them were said to have died during the jailbreak attempt while the other three died at the hospital even though some of the SSS officers got injured.

In another attack, the members of the Boko Haram killed candidates of the Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UTME) who were going to write exams on the 12th of April, 2014 for their entry into the tertiary institution in Nigeria. About 210 people were killed alongside the UTME candidates who were traveling to Borno State for the purpose of their examination. These attacks were said to be carried out in four separate villages in Borno State namely Gwoza, Kala Balge, Gambulga and Dikwa. A Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria representing those communities as his constituency, Senator Zannah Ahmed of Borno Central, lamented on how the Boko Haram members dressed in military uniforms in carrying out their attacks on the villages as they slaughtered the people. They had two armored cars as well as seven other vehicles (double cabin pickups) killing 60 people in Kala Balge and the other 150 people were killed in the other three villages (Idowu and Soriwei, 2014).

Soriwei, Adetayo and Ogundele (2014) again noted that, the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja witnessed series of bomb blasts on the 14th of April, 2014, a Monday morning when people were going to work and others engaged in their activities for the week, at the Nyanya motor park where hundreds of people normally board their vehicles to the city of Abuja were attacked by the suspected members of the Boko Haram. About eighty nine (89) people were killed in the bomb attack including three of the suicide bombers

who conducted the attack. Some of the people who died in that bomb attack were said to be workers who worked with the federal civil service, ministries, departments, agencies and some worked with private organizations.

The attack which killed many people was said to have affected mostly those who were on board the buses and ready to go into the city. The buses that were bombed and the Nigeria's President who visited the General Hospital Asokoro, where some of those injured were admitted. Those victims were taken to different General Hospitals located in Abuja such as Wuse, Maitama, Nyanya and the National Hospital with different degrees of injuries while those who lost their lives were taken to the mortuary.

It became very difficult to identify some of the victims since their bodies were turned into pieces, while some people could identify them through their faces; it was still difficult to identify other parts of their bodies. These are people who left their houses in the morning going to work while some were going about their normal businesses for the purpose of earning a living but could not go back to their homes or relatives. This shows the height of insecurity in the country where it is difficult to predict what would happen next in terms of human security. Consequently, Abuja being the Federal Capital Territory also came under attack, and not only the North Eastern part of the country as widely known.

As the activity of the Boko Haram goes on, the Emir of Gwoza in Borno State raised an alarm on such activities as his people were being killed very often, so he called on the

security authority, after giving them the information in order for them to assist his people and the Emirates where he ruled as the Emir. He was also later killed by the Boko Haram. Kayode (2014) noted that, the Emir of Gwoza, Alhaji Idrissa Timta, was attacked in his Palace when the Boko Haram stormed his domain and killed him and his guards. After the Emir's killing on the 15th of April, 2014, they equally killed other 18 people from the same Gwoza community as they left the village people in tears where no help was rendered.

It was learnt that the Emir told the government to save them from the deadly attacks which became much frequent and not limited to killings alone, but stopping them from going to their farms as they were seized by the Boko Haram especially during the period of harvesting time. Life became very difficult for the people as well as unbearable as the highway linking from Gwoza to the state capital of Borno known as Maiduguri was equally blocked by the Boko Haram. More so, the major roads linking the Gwoza Emirates in Borno were equally blown up using explosives to destroy them such as the bridge between Gwoza and Bama, as well as the bridge located on Damboa-Gwoza road.

In Taraba State, around 1.30am on Sunday 20th April, 2014, the unknown gunmen stormed the Wukari Local Government Area killing more than 15 people when the Christians were celebrating the remembrance of the resurrection of Jesus Christ commonly known as Easter Sunday. Ihyongo (2014) ascertained that, as the residents run for their lives for safety, the attackers set their houses ablaze as well as on the CRCN Church which led the Christian youths to equally engage in destroying some of

the Mosques. This research is totally focused on fostering solutions to the insecurity challenges in Nigeria and building bridges that would enhance the unity among the Christians and Muslims in Nigeria.

According to Omonobi (2014), the arrested group of mostly youths from Wukari, Taraba State, who operated in disguise as Fulani herdsmen by the military confessed to be members of Boko Haram terrorist group. They confessed to have taken part in so many attacks with other groups of Boko Haram in many states such as Zamfara, Benue, Taraba, Nasarawa where they killed so many people as well as burning of residential houses during their attacks as part of their activities. The information was gotten from the Director of Defence Information on the 23rd of April, 2014; Major General C. Olukolade confirmed the news.

It was however discovered that, some of the members of the group in *appendix 8* were trailed to their camp by the Nigerian military during their air surveillance in Taraba, and they equally engaged the military in a battle which resulted to some of them losing their lives in the battle. It was also noted that one of them confessed to have being transferred from Borno State to Wukari to continue with the activities of killing, burning of houses and other attacks on the people in furthering their mission of destruction. On the 2nd of May, 2014, around 11.00pm there was another attack in Maiduguri, the Borno State capital, where multiple explosion was said to have rocked the capital with the aid of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), behind the Federal institution in the state, the University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri, Borno State (Marama, 2014).

According to Sahara Reporters, (2014), there was another attack on the people of Gamboru Ngala where over 300 people were killed on Monday, 5th of May, 2014, and on Thursday, 8th of May, 2014, another attack occurred as the bridge linking Nigeria to Cameroon was bombed and destroyed at the Gamboru Ngala village, in Borno State. The attack was carried out when the villagers conducted a mass burial for their people who were killed in the same week. Tears, confusion and helplessness occupied the hearts of the villagers as about 30 people were killed on that Thursday of the bridge bombing.



Figure 4.1 A location of Gamboru Ngala near Cameroon.
Source Sahara Reporters (2014).

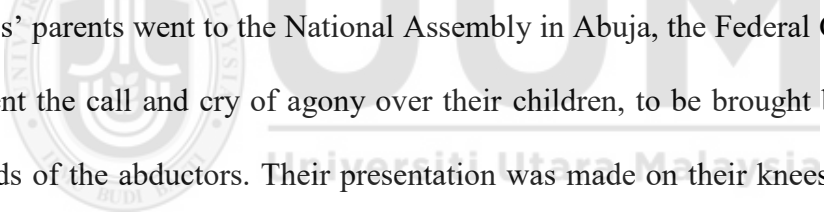
4.5.2 The Abducted Chibok Girls by Boko Haram

The people are deeply affected psychologically as a result of the continuous attacks on them from one place to another as well as from time to time leading to what is known as psychological trauma which is a result of negative impacts from the activities of Boko Haram terrorists. The continuous suffering of the people and what they go through as a result of series of attacks creates so many difficulties on their lives which even results to loss of lives, others lose their jobs, while many especially from the rural areas suffer hunger as a result of leaving their farm lands. In essence, their lands are occupied by the Boko Haram during the attacks on them. We will examine such issues to give an understanding of what the people pass through as a result of the continuous attacks on them. First, we will examine the psychological effects on the lives of the people from the perspective of the Chibok girls who were abducted by the Boko Haram in April 14th, 2014 in Borno State, Nigeria.

On the Chibok girls abduction by the Boko Haram, Iveren Uganden of the Department of Political Science, Benue State University, concurred that:

Then we have children who have left school, then we even have the celebrated case of the Chibok girls, there is a saying that train a woman, train a nation, but hundreds of girls were taken away and abducted by Boko Haram till today, only a few have been rescued and the rest of them up till today, we do not have an idea what has become of them, and these are costs to the nation. Then the continuous insecurity in the North-East has perpetually remained an insecure place now, where companies that were operating there have relocated, even schools have closed down and so many other things. If you want to document or put together consequences of these attacks, they are enormous, to say the least (24th March, 2015).

The parents of the abducted girls from the Government Girls Secondary School, Chibok, after much pleading with the government and security agencies for the rescue of their children failed, they left Borno State to Abuja to cry with the Federal Government. The picture above in figure shows the presentation of their psychological torture characterized by sadness, sleeplessness, and emotional disturbances of all kinds. These girls were abducted by the Boko Haram in a girl's school where they sent their children to go and acquire education. Over 230 female students were abducted by Boko Haram which put the country into more confusion and agony especially the parents whose children were abducted. This became an international issue where other countries outside the shores of Africa were calling on the government to rescue the girls.



The girls' parents went to the National Assembly in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory to present the call and cry of agony over their children, to be brought back home from the hands of the abductors. Their presentation was made on their knees while crying at the same time to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives for their beloved children to be rescued alive and brought back home. Onogu (2014) noted that the Nigerian Senate called on the Federal Government to rescue the girls as well as urge them to seek needed Government assistance within the West African Sub-region through their regional body known as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and outside the African continent through the Global institution known as the United Nations.

It became a global call for the Government of President Goodluck Jonathan to rescue the girls which later turned into a global protest amongst Nigerians living in other countries across the world from Africa, to America and to the Asian countries as well as Europe and Australia. It was all tagged Bring Back Our Girls protest across countries and Oceans. People began to see the girls as their daughters, sisters and future mothers who should be well taken care of and should be secured by the government of Nigeria. As such, the abduction created fears among students in the Northern part of Nigeria especially the students in the North Eastern part of the country where the abduction took place. Most schools were forced to close down as a result of the fear of the unknown which the Boko Haram activities have caused and created such as killing, bombing and abduction of the innocent students from the girls' school in Chibok.

According to Biodun (2014) the psychological effects as a result of the abduction of the Chibok girls led to the death of Mrs. Mary Paul Lalai who could not control her psychological trauma in which she went through as a result of her daughter's abduction. She died of heart attack without seeing her daughter come back home. Continuous thinking and not finding solutions to the abducted issue as well as being helpless by the people and no positive action on the part of the government to see the girls back home and back to school became the source of the worries of the parents who sent their children to school for the purpose of acquiring knowledge that would move both the parents and the society forward. In as much as they endured the hardship and psychological trauma, it certainly became impossible for her to see her daughter back home of which culminated to her death.

After Mrs. M. P. Lalai died, another parent of the abducted girls also died after watching the video that was released by the Boko Haram leader. In it, he said, the girls especially those of them who were Christians had already been converted to Islam. He also said that he had given them out for marriage without the consent of the parents as well as received their bride price.

Sahara Reporters (2014) noted that in May, 2014, the father of the two girls among the abducted female students from Chibok School had died of heart failure. It confirms the psychological trauma that the said father had gone through during the period of his two daughters absence from home and in school while knowing very well that they are in the hands of the Boko Haram terrorist group and not knowing the hour, day, month, or year that they will be brought back home to meet their parents and relatives.

Malala Yousafzai, the Taliban victim who believed to have been dead when she was shot by the Taliban as she stood as a beacon of hope for the girl child education in Pakistan in 2012. She survived the gun shot on her head when she was taken abroad for medical examination and treatment. Malala saw the pains both the parents and the abducted girls must have gone through as well as the need to offer her 17th birthday to the Nigerian parents whom their children were abducted, as well as visit them and those girls that escaped from the abduction as she referred to them as her sisters. She also visited the President of Nigeria in order to urge him to visit the parents of the abducted girls so as to give them a feeling of concern by the Federal Government. The President thus failed to visit both the Chibok School and the parents of the abducted girls as the

Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Ehikioya, 2014).

After her visit to Nigeria, President Jonathan invited both the Parents and the girls that escaped from the Boko Haram abduction to the Presidential Villa in Abuja where they all met with the President of Nigeria. Ehikioya (2014) commented that Malala met with the President and he promised her that he was going to meet with the Parents of the abducted girls, as well as ensure scholarship for the girls while the government is doing her best to rescue the girls, and finally to unite them with their families. Malala also pledged USD200,000 as part of her little contribution for the scholarship of the girls, among others, her visit was to add her voice on behalf of the girls and a call to ensure all girls are back home and to school.

Furthermore, after Malala left Nigeria, the President invited both the parents and the 57 girls that escaped from the Boko Haram abduction to meet with them at the Presidential Villa in Abuja. They then revealed that eleven (11) parents died of heart failure since they could no longer see their daughters as well as understand the leader of the Boko Haram, Abubakar Shekau, who gave them in marriage without their consent. The Nation (2014) reported that, all the villages sharing borders with the Republic of Cameroon were set ablaze by the Boko Haram and the villagers are sacked from such villages. Their means of livelihood has been taken away from them since most of the villagers are farmers. The people of Chibok had called on the UN to send troops that

would protect them but there is no answer to their request. All these are sources of psychological trauma that the people pass through.

Another agony that surrounds heart troubles are victims of Boko Haram attacks such as outcomes of bombings of various places across the northern part of the country. Such people go through pains when they survive the bomb attacks, though filled with injuries which keep them experiencing psychological trauma as they continue to dwell on the issue. There are cases of adults who cry like little babies or children when admitted at the hospital for medical treatments. We can see an example of such agonies where a woman was admitted at the hospital after surviving a bomb attack at Jos main market in Plateau state, Nigeria, as she cries on and on as a result of the pains.

Over 118 people were killed as two bomb explosions hit the city of Jos, Plateau State, leaving over 60 people injured. It was a day of tears as many were killed in one day while some were admitted at the hospitals, whereas others were taken to the mortuary. Idegu (2014) revealed that, the major hospitals in Jos were occupied with victims as bodies were lying dead and helpless at Plateau State Specialists Hospital, Jos University Teaching Hospital and the Teaching Hospital of Bingham University. Those that survived the bomb attacks and were injured were taken to the hospital for treatment even though some were seriously in pains.

4.5.3 Boko Haram Attacks on the Government of Nigeria

The Government of Nigeria is certainly not left out of the attacks as a result of the activities of the Boko Haram since 2009. These attacks include burning and bombing of

public facilities, attacks on security personnels and agencies, as well as attacks on the democratic structures of Nigeria such as threat against the leadership of President Jonathan, the Nigerian constitution, the States and Local Governments especially in the North Eastern part of Nigeria, the National Assembly in Abuja, and Government Schools.

Furthermore, the Government has also been in fear of the known since her security apparatus has also received several attacks especially this year 2014, series of bomb attacks in places such as Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory, Jos, the Plateau State Capital, Kano, Kaduna, Adamawa, Yobe, and Borno States. The Boko Haram activities truly has touched not only the Nigerian Government but has also extended to Cameroon, a neighboring country where they staged attacks on both their citizens and foreigners in Cameroon. It also has a psychological effect on the government of Nigeria not only the people of Nigeria. This was known when the leadership of the country under President Goodluck Jonathan who could not go to Chibok to visit the Parents of the abducted girls and the escapees in order to understand what they went through in the hands of the Boko Haram members.

Issues and activities such as bombing went on higher when the Boko Haram could even recruit suicide bombers who were/are ready to take away their lives through suicide bombing which became a new thing in Nigeria even though other countries have gone through such experiences as the bombing of the Police Headquarters and the United Nations Building, all in Abuja (Aghedo, and Osumah, 2014). This year 2014, the

bombing of Nyanya motor park in Abuja on the 14th of April, attracted several condemnations across the continent of Africa to other parts of the world where several people were killed as well as the buses bought by the government for public use were equally bombed.

This attack was condemned by the African Union through the Chairperson of the AU Commission in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, as they saw Nigeria going through her tough times where both the people and the government is being attacked (Sotunde, 2014). However, the security officers are also attacked by the Boko Haram as they stand as the main agency of the government to protect the people and the territorial integrity of the country Nigeria. The Boko Haram militants who also are in and out of battle fields had killed several military officers of the Nigerian Government, thus making things very difficult for the Government to handle in the face of insecurity where one cannot predict the next happening. In our next chapter we will focus on the Nigerian state from pre-colonial and colonial rule to the present government to see what went wrong in the past that led us to where we are today (2014) in a state of insecurity challenges.

4.5.4 The Effect of Boko Haram Conflict on National Security

The negative impact of the crisis on the Nigerian State has far gone beyond what many Nigerians thought it will go. This study therefore, unveils some of the effects that the Boko Haram conflict has caused to the Nigerian State, below are the national security challenges that has bedeviled the country as a result of the said conflict:

4.5.4.1 Refugee Camps

A report from the Cameroonian authorities revealed that, the Boko Haram attack on Mubi Local Government of Adamawa State, Nigeria, in October, 2014, about 13,000 Nigerians flee for safety of their lives to Cameroon in search of shelter and hiding place. This has truly created venue where the Nigerian people could run for their dear lives to a secured environment since they could not be protected by the Nigerian Government during the Boko Haram attacks on their communities. During this attack, so many people lost their lives. Apart from the fleeing Mubi people to Cameroon, the UNCR together with other humanitarian agencies, have hosted about 17,000 Nigerians in Minawao Refugee Camp while 43,000 Nigerians also sought to shelter in Cameroon (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, November 11, 2014).

In another report from the Republic of Chad, as at 31st of July, 2015, due to the conflict in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria, about 1,000 Nigerians who flees to Chad to seek asylum had arrived the country of Chad at the Choua Island. There were already 1,500 Nigerian refugees who were hosted by Republic of Chad and out of which 488 were families within the Refugee Camp (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2015).

The Boko Haram conflict thus spread to Niger Republic, a country sharing border with Nigeria. People from the region were rendered homeless as a result of the activities of the Boko Haram insurgents who engaged in a battle between them and the Niger National Armed Forces at the town of Diffa that was known of over 50,000 people became virtually empty according to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

report as a result of the crash between the two groups (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, February 16, 2015).

The Boko Haram conflict in the Nigeria's North-East led to the Nigerians fleeing to the nearby countries for safety and shelter since they were longer protected by the Nigerian Government due to the overwhelming attacks. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Report (February 16, 2015) reveals that, as a result of the Boko Haram conflict especially in the North-Eastern part of the country, over 157,000 Nigerian refugees spreads across borders to Republic of Cameroon ranging to 40,000, to the Republic of Chad, about 17,000 and to the Niger Republic 100,000.

4.5.4.2 Internally Displaced Persons

Many Nigerians have suffered from the series of attacks of the Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria where their families were/are also affected. On the 29th of July, 2015, the new President of Nigeria, Mohammadu Buhari visited the Republic of Cameroon to form a stronger ties with his Cameroonian counterpart, Mr. Paul Biya, the Nigerian President reveals that, Nigeria will continue to maintain good relationship with Cameroon and they will not go against the 2002 ICJ Judgment over Bakassi Peninsula while expressing the good will of Cameroon for hosting 40,000 Nigerian Refugees; also revealing that, Nigeria through her Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is hosting about 1.5 million IDPs whom they need shelter and schools for proper rehabilitation and reintegrating the people within the Nigeria's larger society (Premium Times, July 29th, 2015).

The impact of the Boko Haram attacks on the people remains negatively, in view of this;

Iveren Uganden of the Department of Political Science connotes that:

The impact of Boko Haram attacks is vast if I may use that word. Right now as I speak, there are still thousands of people in the IDP camps all over the North East. In fact, the whole world has mobilized resources to help take care of the IDPs, so the consequences of the attack are economic, physical, human, psychological, because thousands of lives have been lost as a result of Boko Haram attacks, the suicide bombings in the corn battles, etc. It is right now that Boko Haram has been contained, so right now we are only witnessing episodic suicide bombing, but then, especially in the hey days of president Goodluck Jonathan, we had cases of bomb attacks where they would invade communities, shoot and kill, burn houses and destroy things etc. So thousands of lives if not millions of lives have been lost as a result of Boko Haram attacks. Economic activities have been suspended, people have left their farms, their productive economic activities have been abandoned, and leading to loss of billions, the statisticians would be able to compute the figures appropriately. But we know that when people abandon their livelihoods, the nation is losing a lot in terms of its economic resources, in terms of loss of manpower and productivity. And then the psychological distress of people uprooted from their homelands and living in IDP camps, you can imagine where they lack food, they are malnourished and sometimes you even see on television pictures of malnourished children, in fact there was a pathetic case I saw of a clearly malnourished child, the mother did not even realize that the child was malnourished, when she was being interviewed I think by some of these AID Organizations, she was like this child had always been like this, this is his nature and so the person reporting pointed out the fact that the mother did not even realize that her child was badly in need of proper nutrition. So these are some of the effects of the Boko Haram insurgency (24th March, 2015).

According to Ayansina (2015) thus reveals that, as at January 21st, 2015, report from the Federal Government agency, National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) announced the number of IDPs in Nigeria to 981,416. The NEMA Agency on the other hand collaborated with International Organizations such as the Red Cross Society, United Nations Agencies such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

(UNHCR) and as well as International Organization for Migration (IOM) so as to established qualitative and quantitative data collection. Out of the number above, NEMA reveals that, 915,329 were those who were affected by the series of attacks from the activities of the Boko Haram while 66,087 were those due to natural disasters in Nigeria. This was made known for the purpose of clarity.

A report on the 22nd of February, 2015 reveals on the psychological torture on the part of Internally Displaced Persons who they have revealed on their fears of Boko Haram attacks against their lives if they have returned to their communities that were taken over by the insurgents (Channels Television, February 22, 2015). Some of the International Agencies that supported the IDPs in the North-Eastern States includes the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), The United Nations Population Fund (UNPF), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and as well as the World Health Organization (WHO) in assisting the affected IDPs to obtain access health care services. The USAID on the other hand gave their assistance through the provision of \$44 million which in Nigeria's currency is about 8.7 billion in the country's Naira to the affected IDPs in the North-East (Premium Times, June 12, 2015).

4.5.4.3 Trillions of Naira Spent

The period of five years from 2011-2015 reveals that, the country has spent a total of 4.62 trillions of Nigerian Naira on National Security yet the insecurity status continues. That amount of Naira equivalent in U.S. Dollars amount to 23 billion. This has certainly affected the development of Nigeria as well as the national security of the country since

the war against Boko Haram is still on going when billions of USD and trillions of Naira been spends yet the attacks continues (Premium Times, June 18, 2015).

Table 4.8

Nigeria's Security Budget from 2011-2015

S/No.	Year	Amount (In Billion Naira)
1	2011	920
2	2012	924
3	2013	923
4	2014	923
5	2015	934

Source Premium Times (June 18, 2015).

The table 4.8 above has shown the total amounts budgeted for the period of 2011-2015 that amounted to N4.62tn which is an equivalent of 23 billion U.S. Dollars yet the war have not been defeated as the conflict not resolved.

Table 4.9

Budget for Nigeria's Security Agencies 2011-2015

S/No.	Agency	Amount (In Naira).
1	DEFENCE: Army, Navy and Air force	1.74 trillion
2	POLICE	1.56 trillion
3	INTERIOR: Immigration, Civil Defence etc.	778.75 billion
4	OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER: Department of State Security, and Presidential Air Fleet	546.87 billion
Total:		4.62 trillion

Source Premium Times (June 18, 2015).

The war against Boko Haram even with these amounts of money budgeted for National Security as seen in table 4.9 above; the Boko Haram still sustains their war and attacks

against the Nigerian state and the people. They have even taken the war across borders to other African States such as Niger Republic, Cameroon and Chad. According to The Nation (June 19, 2015) the Boko Haram insurgents have extended their attacks outside Nigeria against other villages in the Republic of Niger where they have killed about 40 people within that community of Diffa. It is also revealed that, the Boko Haram insurgents had attacked the Niger Republic where 58 people were killed in April, 2015.

Table 4.10

Budget for Nigeria's Defence Ministry 2011-2015

S/No.	Year	Amount (In billion Naira).
1	2011	348
2	2012	326
3	2013	364
4	2014	340
5	2015	358
Total:		1.74 trillion Naira Equivalent of USD 8.7bn

Source Premium Times (June 18, 2015).

Table 4.11

Interior Ministry's Budget 2011-2015

S/No.	Year	Amount (In Billions of Naira).
1	2011	158
2	2012	157
3	2013	154
4	2014	151
5	2015	156
Total:		778.75bn. Equivalent of \$ 3.9bn

Source Premium Times (June 18, 2015).

Table 4.12

Budget for Nigeria's Police 2011-2015

S/No.	Year	Amount (In billions of Naira
1	2011	304
2	2012	307

Table 4.12 (Continued)

3	2013	311
4	2014	302
5	2015	329
Total		1.56tn
		Equivalent of \$7.5bn
Source Premium Times (June 18, 2015)		

Table 4.13

Budget for the Office of National Security Adviser

S/No.	Year	Amount (In Billions of Naira
1	2011	105
2	2012	124
3	2013	81
4	2014	117
5	2015	84
Total		546.87bn
		Equivalent of \$2.7bn

Source Premium Times (June 18, 2015).

The amounts of money allocated to the National Security sector of the Nigerian State, from the period 2011-2015 identifies the extent to which more damage the Boko Haram insurgents has caused to Nigeria with the understanding of how these monies could have been allocated to other sectors of the economy in developing the Nigerian State. However, such monies went to the Security sector and yet, the Boko Haram waxed stronger without been defeated between the period of 2009-2014 under study even as their attacks continuous to 2015 while the security sector goes with the highest allocation more than other sectors within the Nigeria's national budget (Olufemi, 2015).

The approach of using the "Use of Force" as a tool in defeating the Boko Haram insurgents through the Nigeria's Security agencies have not paved way for the resolution of the conflict between the Boko Haram and the Nigerian Government within the period

of 2009-2014 under study. An examination of the Nigeria's Security budget from 2011-2015 as seen in Tables 4.8, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13 above, also connotes the stay in office of power as the Nigeria's leader under President Goodluck Jonathan whom the North were against his candidature in 2011 presidential elections that brought him to power to rule the country from 2011-2015. As such, Lawal Kaita had told the leadership of the PDP that the North will make the country ungovernable for President Jonathan if he goes ahead to contest the 2011 elections and even if he wins since the President Jonathan went against the zoning principle which was enshrined in the PDP's constitution (Nigerian Bulletin, March 26, 2015; News Rescue, August 4, 2014; Brimah, March 15, 2014; Brimah, August 4, 2014; Umoru, 2012; Anya, 2012; Nairaland Forum, 2012).

4.6 Chapter Summary

In conclusion, the chapter discussed the issues that led to Nigeria's security dynamics which includes the truncated zoning arrangements within the then ruling political party, the PDP. The chapter further explained how the truncated zoning triggered the increases in Nigeria's insecurity challenges posed by the Boko Haram terrorist group from 2009-2014 under study. Chapter four of this work explained how the series of attacks by the Boko Haram impacted negatively on the Nigerian state where thousands of her citizens are killed by the Boko Haram. This chapter also discussed the series of attacks that took place during the period under study. The next chapter of this research work focused on the role NEPAD played in tackling the security challenges posed by the Boko Haram in Nigeria.

CHAPTER FIVE

NEPAD’S BLUE PRINT FOR SOLVING THE SECURITY CRISIS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will focus on knowing the NEPAD’s blue print regarding her role in solving the crisis as a result of the security dynamics posed by the Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria.

5.2 NEPAD Partnership with Security Agencies

The NEPAD partnered in the area of solving the security dynamics in Nigeria through her partnership with the security agencies against the Boko Haram conflict which affected the Nigerian State resulting to loss of lives as well as many properties destroyed. The Administration Officer, NEPAD APRM Department, Abuja, Dapo Ifabiyi explained how NEPAD has operated within this period of conflict bedeviling the security dynamics of the Nigerian State as he asserts:

Democracy and political governance encompasses everything that deals with governance which peace and security is a part of. With peace and security, you can talk about ensuring effectiveness of the agencies that deal with security. If you want to look at it critically, NEPAD as a whole do not enforce, only partner with agencies and organizations. NEPAD has partner agencies such as the police, the security defense and what not, even the military just to ensure that there’s peace and security on ground, which is under the thematic area of democracy and political governance (21 April, 2015).

On ideas that would promote peace building and conflict resolution in Nigeria, Dapo Ifabiyi of NEPAD APRM, Abuja, further explained that:

NEPAD is not an imposer, it is not an implementing agency, we only make recommendations bringing up ideas, and this is what should be done to concerned agencies, such recommendations are forwarded through the Secretary to the Government of the Federation (SGF), then to the President where in their meeting, i.e. federal executive meetings, issues are brought forward, discussed with the Ministers and Special Advisers. From there you find out that things are moving in line with bringing about peace and security issues (21 April, 2015).

Dapo Ifabiyi further exposed the role of the Leadership of NEPAD with the Nigerian Government on promoting Peace and Security, thus:

The NEPAD overall head participates in Federal Executive Meetings sometimes. You look at it that the head is not a Minister because the Federal Executive Council comprises of the President, Vice-president and Ministers. So, if issues need to be raised on particular points like peace and security, NEPAD will be drafted in, so also the service chiefs in resolving such issues pertaining to peace and security in Nigeria (21 April, 2015).

In relation to NEPAD partnership with the Government and other agencies such as the Police, the military, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and United Nations Development Program (UNDP); Dapo Ifabiyi again noted the role played by the Nigerian Government through her partnership with NEPAD on peace and Security:

The most feasible one we talk about right now is the fight against Boko Haram, you may recall that prior to the general elections, the first time table given was February 14th and March 28th 2015, but the Nigerian Government made everyone realize that security could not be guaranteed, as such the Nigerian government now gave the electoral body (INEC) six weeks in which it could now conduct the elections. After the expiration of six weeks, peace was guaranteed for elections to be conducted. Nigeria in such a case now partnered with Cameroun, Niger, and Chad to fight the Islamic extremists called the Boko Haram. You can see that the recently concluded elections was relatively peaceful across board between Nigeria

and Chad, Cameroun and Niger, also internationally, it was acclaimed that Nigeria is winning the war against insurgency. We can say that is the most peaceful aspect in peace and security of collaboration between Nigeria and other countries that we can talk about right now (21 April, 2015).

In another development, the conflicts between the herdsmen and some of the farmers across some states in Nigeria such as Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba was confirmed linkages with the Boko Haram group in operation where many people were killed. According to Omonobi (2014) there were some of the people who guised as herdsmen whom were arrested by the Nigerian Security agencies and have confessed to be part of the deadly Boko Haram membership as being part of them. They have engaged in so many Boko Haram activities such as killing of the local farmers and burning of houses belonging to the farmers and the local community members. The NEPAD's role in resolving the conflict between the herdsmen and the local farmers, NEPAD Benue State Coordinator, Samuel Iornugwa Agwa, asserts that:

NEPAD participates at key meetings of government, with its instruments trying to look and guide that look this thing we are doing, it may not quite be this, are we conscious of this? So by and large we are able to influence things in ways that sometimes we don't even know, but we are told later that look this thing we said here was able to cause this restructure. But let me also go on the hard way side. Because we are a full agency of government, we have been able to directly intervene, for instance, we have done so much work on the current herdsmen crisis with the indigenous farmers in the state. In fact, the consultants that did the job for us were able to bring the Fulani's and the Tiv farmers together at a round table for us to chat a direction. NEPAD got involved with the International agencies like the UNDP, UN High Commission for Refugees, and they have supported us in holding round tables across communities, across internally displaced areas and even meeting with the persons. And what is the message, hey look whatever is the issue is no alternative to peace. We must just find a way to move peacefully. Yes you may feel hurt that I didn't cause the crisis, but somebody has hurt me, but two wrongs can never make a right, let's move ahead, and we have

been able to develop on that but it's a project we consider ongoing (8 April, 2015).

In integrating other bodies with the NEPAD, Peace and conflict resolution initiative, the

NEPAD State Coordinator, Samuel Iorungwa Agwa, further explained that:

There is the Nigeria Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution. It is a national body that is charged by law; we work closely with them, in fact the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria with NEPAD and the civil society, we have last year towards the end, we did round tables in 8 local government areas that were affected by the crisis between the Fulani herdsmen and the indigenous farmers. That is a big partner to us, and again we didn't just stop there, we realized that we need to work with the traditional institutions, they are very key, so what we did was even before we started the round tables, we had a big round table with the traditional institutions and the key message was very simple "peace in itself is poverty alleviation", and we made them realize that being peaceful alleviates poverty the same way like even actual trading because ones there is disarray, you may not even open your shops, your shop could even be looted, there will be more issues, and these have been our key partners in this project (8 April, 2015).

NEPAD did not only stop at initiating peaceful resolution with the herdsmen and the local farmers, but also engaged in how best to train the local farmers rather than fighting a continuous war between them and the herdsmen. In relation to this, NEPAD State Coordinator, Samuel Agwa, also revealed that:

The emphasis of NEPAD in the State is on poverty alleviation, we have a project called Smart Agriculture, the way smart is, we want agriculture to be smart. How can you make maximum yield on your small portion of land? So we have brought in integrated agriculture. For the first time, with the help of the UNDP to train at least about 30 young school leavers on this integrated farming. Look at the farming in Benue State today is either mono cropping or so, people do not know that on the same piece of land I can do other things as well. I can produce all manner of things together, so that what is rubbish from one unit even becomes a good input into another and nothing gets really wasted and we have attempted that on small portions of land and discovered that we can go completely green and do

organic agriculture, so there are little, little things we are working together and our partners essentially seem to be the civil society (8 April, 2015).

5.3 The NEPAD Partnership on Socio-Economic Development

Many scholars attributed to the insecurity challenges in the country during the period of Presidents Yar'Adua and Jonathan's administration to the challenges of unemployment in Nigeria. To some scholars, poverty and illiteracy are other factors that also contribute in getting jobless youths during times of conflicting issues as in the case of the Boko Haram (Dike, 2014; Olaiya, 2014; Yusuf, 2013). This is one among the reasons that the youths who are available to fight the Nigerian State through the instrument of Boko Haram insurgency is as a result of unemployment.

The poor youths who are unemployed from the Northern part of the country then gives in to the Boko Haram fight against the people and the government of Nigeria since they are not gainfully employed. Most of those youths are from the axes of Borno, Adamawa, Yobe, Kano, Kaduna, and Bauchi States comprising of North-East and North-Western parts of the country. However, many states in the Northern part of the country are affected by the Boko Haram attacks since 2009. These youths cut acrosses majority and minority ethnic nationalities from the Northern part of the country.

NEPAD as a socio-economic platform foster ways of bridging the gap of unemployment through the development of socio-economic initiatives that would bring about provision of job opportunities for the youths. NEPAD enhances such opportunities through partnership with private, public, civil society organizations and non-governmental

organization in Nigeria. According to NEPAD Nigeria (2015) in collaboration with the Sokoto State Government, NEPAD partnered with the Sokoto State in providing employment opportunities to the youths whom were selected across the state through Neighborhood initiative scheme. The programme is aimed at given the youths a means of job opportunity through para-military training which started in June, 2013 in order to assist the government within their local communities in Sokoto State to reduce crime rate, enhance security and to promote peace within the State.

In another development, through the NEPAD partnership, a programme aimed at training youths in Sokoto State was initiated where over 1000 youths from the state were trained in order to become self-employed, they were trained in making of pomade, shoes, carpentry work, and tailoring as the programme started on the 1st of March, 2013 (NEPAD Nigeria, 2015). On the goal of improving the lives of the people through empowering the youths in Nigeria, the NEPAD Benue State Coordinator, Samuel Iornungwa Agwa, noted that:

the emphasis of NEPAD in the State is on poverty alleviation, we have a project called Smart Agriculture, the way smart is, we want agriculture to be smart. How can you make maximum yield on your small portion of land? So, we have brought in integrated agriculture. For the first time, with the help of the UNDP to train at least about 30 young school levers on this integrated farming. Look at the farming in Benue State today is either mono cropping or so, people do not know that on the same piece of land I can keep goats, fish, dock, hens, I can keep all manner of things together, I can keep quails, I can keep snakes, so that what is rubbish from one unit even becomes a good input into another and nothing gets really wasted and we have attempted that on small portions of land and discovered that we can go completely green and do organic agriculture, so there are little, little, things we are working together and our partners essentially seem to be the civil society organizations (8 April, 2015).

NEPAD partnership thus, engaged in areas that would bring about socio-economic development through provision of job opportunities in some of the states in the Northern part of the country as seen in Sokoto State, Yobe, State, Benue State and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria (NEPAD Nigeria, 2015).

5.4 NEPAD Partnership with Federal Government

The NEPAD partnership on solving the security dynamics recognizes the principle of zoning which was introduced into the Nigerian political system with the view of uniting the people, promoting peace and political stability where it gives opportunity for the minority and majority ethnic groups in Nigeria to be integrated in the whole and having a sense of belonging (NEPAD, 2010; Ogundiya, 2009; Akinola, 1988).

Akinola (1988) further stated that, it is indeed very difficult to achieve national integration without having equal opportunities for the minorities and majorities ethnic groups as seen from North and South. Thus, zoning was designed to bridge the gap between geo-ethnic origins in Nigeria. This was a core reason for having a President in Nigeria from North and Vice president from the South. In understanding zoning and promotion of national unity, the NEPAD Taraba State, Deputy State Coordinator, Dauda Marafa Goding argued that:

When you look at zoning it gives you an impression that there are geographical maps or demarcations within a particular context, whether at the World level, lower government level, state level or at the national levels. So, it is a sort of demarcation where some areas are given a task that whether you are in this or that zone. I am not a constitutional lawyer, I may not be able to tell you the constitutionality of zoning, but zoning is an arrangement by a particular group of people to ensure that every part of a particular context is given a say

either in the management of resources or whether it's also political etc. so, zoning per se is meant to bringing a kind of sense of belonging. Democracy is all about majority, if we continue to say the majority carries the day, we may end up creating tensions all over, and end up having absence of the required development, so zoning came up as a concept to be able to take care of the fears of the minority. So if you don't do zoning, then the majority will always carry the day or have their way. In Taraba State, we have more than 27 ethnic groups, so if we say we will continue to have the majority to have their way then that means till eternity, the minority groups will not be given a chance despite the fact that there are experts there, knowledgeable people who will be able to give the country or the state the required management attributes, so if we don't give the minority a voice, that means we will continue to truncate whatever contributions they may give. So, zoning is an arrangement, I don't see it as a constitutional thing, it is an arrangement especially at the political realm, either the parties will adopt that system so that a particular section will not continue to dominate (8 May, 2015).

Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin (2012) envisaged zoning as a tool and a strategy for unification of the people of a diverse ethnicity in the case of Nigeria. The Nigerian state practices the federal system of governance which also promotes unity in diversity among the different ethnic groups and different religious backgrounds. In this view, the continuity of Nigeria as a state informs the integration of the Nigerian people which is also promoted through zoning. Rotation of power between the North and South through zoning solves the heterogeneous nature of the Nigerian political system as Awopeju, Adelusi and Oluwashakin (2012) cited the work of Simbine (2002).

Zoning connotes the spirit of unity in diversity and as well as peace building through the integration process among the people as seen in the argument of Kaduna State NEPAD Coordinator, Samson Maga noted that:

In each political zone, you cannot rule out the issue of religion because Nigeria is a multi-faceted country I would say, because in each zone, you find the Hausas, the Christians and

Muslims, and other tribes they all belong to those zones, they are living and earning their living there. So, to me, I see zoning is like when you take a zone, it's like a whole nation like Nigeria that is full of diversities of languages and so on. If you take a zone, you can find more than 10 languages within the zone. When you do the zoning, each potential is being displayed (25 March, 2015).

He further argued that:

Zoning is not part of the Nigeria constitution, but political parties have discovered that, or the country has discovered that zoning is very essential that is why each zone has its own peculiarities and all that, so, I look at zoning in terms of governance as very important because, each zone will be given an opportunity to also express its potentials, and also carry activities that will develop Nigeria and the way it should be. So, zoning is very important, it's key because each section has its own problems and each section has its successes or where they can say, areas that can do well and areas that they cannot do well, so if we imbibe the spirit of zoning, it will augur well for the nation (25 March, 2015).

Again, zoning of political position also gives opportunity to the minority to rule as leaders where practically the majority ethnic groups or regional base could have dominated the political space of leadership as seen during the military administration where leadership of Nigeria was dominated by the North having Gowon 1966-1975, Mohammed 1975-1976, Buhari 1983-1985, Babangida 1985-1993, Abacha 1993-1998 and Abubakar 1998-1999 (Mbah, 2014). In line with this, the Benue State NEPAD Coordinator, Samuel Iornungwa Agwa posits that:

If you look at zoning critically, in the present dispensation, the PDP zoned the Senate president to the North Central. Outstandingly, that means the north central where I also come from, we brag that we have the number three citizen of Nigeria. The House of Representatives is towards one of the regions in the North and that up to the point that in our own case, even the opposition at the federal level, at the national government has even made the minority leader of senate to also come from north central and to even also come from Benue, so largely there's a balance. If for instance A comes and talks rubbish, there's a B to come and say, look A is talking rubbish or if A comes to distort things, B says A is distorting things here no, so

if you look at it by and large, my minority accommodation even features more. Look at the Senate Presidency that is zoned to the north central, it is even a minority tribe in north central that is Senate President, how that happens whatever those are the interplay that creates these things happening, the bottom line is that there is accommodation, there is peace (8 April, 2015).

According to the NEPAD Rivers State Director, Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, Nemi Ibaraye, also revealed the need for zoning, thus:

Zoning means dividing into zones, like in Nigeria there are six geo-political zones, these zones are created for administrative convenience, so that any part of the country will not be marginalized or cheated. We have the South-South, South-East, South-West, North-East, North-West and North-Central, these zones are created so that one part only will not be taking positions of governance alone, that is why they created these zones (7 April, 2015).

The NEPAD Rivers State Director, Frederick Aseminaso, on the same page with zoning connotes that:

Zoning was created based on our ethnicity, since Nigeria is a multi-ethnic groups, we have the Hausas, Yoruba's, Ibos, Ijaws, etc. I think the zoning was created so that power can be distributed evenly among these ethnic groups to avoid ethnic clashes, you know tribalism, etc. So, that is how zoning came into being (7 April, 2015).

The principle of zoning showcases equitable representation of the zones in relation to the six geo-political zones as we have it in Nigeria. This representation cut across the ethnic backgrounds since we have the minorities and majority ethnic groups known as the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and the Igbo, also in recognition of the religious and regional (North and South) background in Nigeria not leaving out the Federal, State and Local Governments where constituencies are located (Nwosu and Ugwerua, 2014). Zoning and peace building in Nigeria as viewed by the NEPAD Taraba State, Deputy State Coordinator, Dauda Marafa Goding, puts it that:

Well, as a person, I am in support of this zoning arrangement because I also belong to a minority tribe in Taraba state. We have six geo-political zones in the country, if we don't adopt the zoning arrangement or system which is not constitutional at the moment; it means only a section of the country will continue to be President, Vice President, Senate President, Speaker, and Secretary to the Government of the Federation, so if we don't adopt the zoning, then the country will not experience peace, let me put it that way, so the zoning system will bring peace in this country. Again, if the North East as it is, we have an elected president from the North West, and we say we will not adopt the zoning system, the elected president may likely pick the Speaker, since he has the power, and will likely influence the picking of the Speaker from his own zone and other powerful offices too will be from his zone and which will not be good for this country. But if we spread all these big offices, every section of the country will have a sense of belonging and everybody will feel okay "I am part of this project for Nigeria" and will join hands, forces to keep the country together, but once a section of the country is left out, then we will continue to have problems coming/cropping up from that area because they are not represented, and their voices are not heard (8 May, 2015).

National integration in the Nigerian context involves the unification of all segments of the country through bridging the gap between various ethnic groups, religious and regional background for purpose of forming a common unity which shows a sense of belonging. As such, the principle of zoning also connotes bridging the gap between the minority and majority ethnic groups in Nigeria and also promotes a sense of belonging and national unity (Olaiya, Apeloko, Amanchukwu, and Shiyanbade, 2014). Through zoning, Dr. Idowu Johnson of the Political Science Department, University of Ibadan, has it that:

If you say without zoning Jonathan could never have become the Nigerian president because he's a minority to the core. Then if you follow the formula of zoning, those people from the north central region that are also minority can also have the share maybe they'll start from Speaker, after four years, Vice President, after four years continuously, the positions would have been rotated within Nigerian federation (14 April, 2015).

In addressing the minority question and promoting national unity among the diverse ethnic groups, the NEPAD Kaduna State Coordinator, Samson Maga, posits that:

Look at the president of Nigeria, he is from the South-South and he's from the minority ethnic group, like zoning, it has given an opportunity to the minority tribe to rule this nation. Now because of the zoning, it has given the minority ethnic group an opportunity to rule this country like the Senate president David Mark, the one we have from Benue State (25 March, 2015).

5.4.1 Zoning As A Tool

At this stage, the work will look at how zoning can be used as a tool in resolving the conflicting issues between the North and South as well as ethno-religious differences in relation to power sharing. Here our focus is basically on how zoning can serve as a fundamental tool in conflict resolution. We are also relating it to how the practice of integration which is used in the context of the federal structure in Nigeria as it aims at promoting peace among the diverse ethnic groups in conformity with the six geopolitical zones.

Oyetade (2003) drew an understanding of the conflict between the minority and majority ethnic groups as it persisted onward which is more understood in the context of dominance and marginalization. As such, that fear of would be or being dominated or marginalized by the other create political conflicting. The work further concurred that; the ethnic (languages) should be united into one fold through the process of integration which would further enhance national development.

Ekanola (2006) gave another view of the Nigerian state and national integration in the view of understanding the foundation of the country which British government

amalgamated the Northern and Southern protectorates to form an entity known as Nigeria. In this view, the question of unity in diversity of the ethnic nationality is built through the process of integration.

Diamond (1987) put it that, through zoning and rotation of power, the country shares ethnic and regional balancing which promotes the political stability of the Nigerian State. As such, when there is ethnic balancing, the quest for power remains a rotational base through zoning which would resolve the issue of marginalization and agitation.

The NEPAD Benue State Coordinator, Samuel Iorungwa Agwa, have it on zoning as a tool for resolving the conflict between the minority and the major ethnic diversity that:

The issue of conflict is a big envelop, it's not just one straight thing zoning has been done, sometimes zoning is also done arbitrarily. People complain that this zoning was not proper, some groups could in the cause of zoning was not given something that was juicier better, but I think largely yes to your question, these things have a way of stemming down whatever may be the challenges that exist that whether zoning is done rightly or wrongly, there's some stability in the polity. But largely, people feel accommodated and you see if you look at Nigeria, the whole agitation in Nigeria is about this accommodation. Not even really about you have provided the infrastructure. In fact, sadly people don't even bother about whether good governance is provided, they are more even keen that when we look around, "our man is there" "our man is there", so because of the primitive level of more societies still in Nigeria, we are contented, so if that is giving us peace even though it may look stupid, it may look timid, at least we can just try to find a way that we can build and improve on that because for now whether you like it or not, today people don't take cognizance, get too civilized to think that presidency can come from A, Senate President can come from B, No, there will be crisis, the current level of spreading this is actually helping (8 April, 2015).

The issue of North and South divide truly showcases the nature of the Nigerian diversity in relation to ethnicity which out of the three major ethnic groups are residing within the zones of North West and North East largely the Hausa-Fulani, South West purely and wholesomely the Yoruba while South East where you find the Igbo people. However, the minorities are dominated in South-South, North Central, and parts of North West as well North East. As a result of Northern dominance over time (1966-1976, and 1979-1999), there was a call from the South for power shift and rotation of presidency in reflection of zoning (Ibrahim, 2007).

Again, focusing on zoning as a tool in resolving ethnic and regional (North and South) conflict, Dr. Idowu Johnson of Political Science Department, University of Ibadan, noted that:

zoning of offices in this local arrangement is for us to have a less way of agitation, a less form of marginalization cry, and at the same time to balance the ethnic groups in Nigeria. So, in this context, it is better for us to go back to zoning formula whereby if the north is producing the president today maybe the North East is producing the president today, the Vice President can come from South-South, the Speaker of the House can come from South West, the Senate President from the South East in that arrangement, so that every region or every zone will be represented. So, in this context, if you follow this formula there won't be kind of inequality, marginalization or kind of discrimination, they will have ideal federation to balance the equation (14 April, 2015).

He further explained that:

there wouldn't have been crisis in the north in the first instance, but the problem was that, they felt that Obasanjo's four years is the slot of the Yorubas, then the same eight years should be given to that of the north, but because of the demise of Yar'Adua, that was the reason why they were clamouring that Jonathan should have acted, you know there was national crisis, he should have acted and after acting, an Hausa person should have mounted the position. But because of the fact that

this was a PDP affair now, PDP now agreed that let him continue, that is a domestic issue. But in the context of Nigerian government and politics, the condition must be restructured, refined and modified so that rezoning formula will be entrenched and everybody will now follow suit, but PDP arrangement was different from the generality of the Nigerian populace and that's why we had the crisis (14 April, 2015).

At this stage, this research work therefore, proposed the zoning formula model.

Table 5.1

An Example of Equal Representation

Positions	Region	Religion	Ethnicity
President	North	Muslim	Majority
Vice President	South	Christian	Minority
Senate President	North	Muslim	Majority
Speaker Federal House of Representatives	South	Christian	Minority
Secretary to the Federal Government	North	Muslim	Majority
Chairman of the Ruling Party	South	Christian	Minority

THE KEYS

Position Group

A – President

B – Vice President

C – Senate President

D – Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives

E – Secretary to the Federal Government

F – Chairman of the Ruling Political Party

Religion Group

C – Christian

M – Muslim

C/M – Christian or Muslim

M/C – Muslim or Christian

Ethnicity Group

M1 – Major Ethnic Group

M2 – Minority Ethnic Group

Geographical Zones

NW – North West

NE – North East

NC – North Central

SW – South West

SE – South East

SS – South South



Table 5.2

Zoning Formula Model One

S/No.	Position	Region	Religion	Ethnicity	Position	Region	Religion	Ethnicity
1	President	North	M	M1 NW	A	South	C	M1 SE
2	Vice President	South	C	M1 SE	B	North	M	M1 NE
3	Senate President	North	M/C	M2 NC	C	South	C/M	M2 SS
4	Speaker	South	C/M	M1 SW	D	North	M/C	M1 NW
5	Secretary F G	North	M/C	M1 NE	E	South	C/M	M1 SW
6	Party Chairman	South	C/M	M2 SS	F	North	M/C	M2 NC

Researcher's contribution to knowledge (2015).

Table 5.3

Zoning Formula Model Two

S/No.	Position	Region	Religion	Ethnicity	Position	Region	Religion	Ethnicity
1	President	North	C	M2 NC	A	South	M	M2 SS
2	Vice President	South	M	M1 SW	B	North	C	M1 NW
3	Sen. President	North	C/M	M1 NE	C	South	M/C	M1 SW
4	Speaker	South	M/C	M2	D	North	C/M	M2

5	Secretary	North	C/M	SS M1 NW	E	South	M/C	NC M1 SE
6	Party Chairman	South	M/C	M1 SE	F	North	C/M	M1 NE
Researcher's contribution to knowledge (2015)								

Table 5.4

Zoning Formula Model Three

S/No.	Position	Region	Religion	Ethnicity	Position	Region	Religion	Ethnicity
1	President	North	M	M1 NE	A	South	C	M1 SW
2	Vice President	South	C	M2 SS	B	North	M	M2 NC
3	Sen. President	North	M/C	M1 NW	C	South	C/M	M1 SE
4	Speaker	South	C/M	M1 SE	D	North	M/C	M1 NE
5	Secretary	North	M/C	M2 NC	E	South	C/M	M1 SS
6	Party Chairman	South	C/M	M1 SW	F	North	M/C	M1 NW
Researcher's contribution to knowledge (2015).								

5.4.2 Interpretation of the Zoning Formula Model

The operational composure of this model is to capture a period of thirty (30) years and at the end of 30 years, it will start again from the very beginning to give rotational bases for the purpose of accommodating all the zones. For instance, the model is proposed for a period of five years single tenure for all the positions and we have six geopolitical zones which multiply by five and it gives you thirty years of rotational leadership. How does it work?

In table 1 of the zoning formula model, we have two groups out of which the North-West will rule the country as President for five years and after which it would be zoned to the South-East for another five years. That create a balance between the North and the South and it is rotational in nature as designed.

In table 2, the North-Central will rule for another five years single tenure and at the end of the tenure the President position would be zoned to the South-South to give another ten years of power balancing between the North and the South.

Table 3 of the zoning formula model, provide an opportunity for the North-East to governed the country for five years and after that, it will to the South-West to also rule for five years. So, from table 1-3, all the six geopolitical zones would have equal opportunity to have their representatives to rule the as each zone would wait for their turn. This also proofs that, they would be a balance between the leadership where a Muslim is the President, the Christian would be the Vice-President and where the

Christian is the President, the Muslim would be the Vice President in order to have a harmonious relationship between the two major religious groups in Nigeria. Let us look at the significance of the models and its proposal therein.

- i. The zoning formula is designed into three models to give equal opportunity to all the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria namely the North-West, North-Central, North-East, South-West, South-South and South-East.
- ii. The model provide equal opportunity for all the zones to occupy the position of the President, Vice President, Senate President, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Secretary to the Government of the Federation and as well as the Chairman of the ruling political party.
- iii. It has also provided the opportunity for the minority and the majority ethnic group to occupy these positions of higher authority such as the president as well as doing away with the marginalization process which occurred in the past administrations especially during the military era. As such, as we saw the South-West were equally marginalized during the President Jonathan led administration 2011-2015 where the Yoruba as one of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria was not represented at the first six top positions.
- iv. In the area of religion, the model provided equal opportunity to the Christian minority from the Northern part of the country to also occupy the position of the President of Nigeria through the zoning process as seen in zoning formula model

two section one. It has also provided the opportunity for the minority ethnic groups from the South-South zone to rule Nigeria as president without any form of political conflict between the North and South as seen during the President Jonathan's administration which led to the quest for this research to come up with measures that would resolve the root causes of the conflict under study.

- v. This model therefore, is designed to be enshrined into the Nigerian constitution as a proposal for the National Assembly to amend the national constitution in order to accommodate all the zonal representations (six geopolitical zones, the minority and majority, Christians and Muslims) as proposed in these models.

This is therefore, the practical contribution to knowledge from this research work which intends to reunite Nigeria as a nation and Nigerians as a people, to heal the wounds in the hearts of the people from North and South, Christians and Muslims in Nigeria for the purpose of enhancing peace and security sustainability.

5.5 Recommendations

The research work will divide the recommendations into two namely, primary and secondary.

Primary

i. NEPAD Partnership with the Federal Government:

NEPAD should partner with the federal government of Nigeria in proposing a bill to the national assembly on amending the constitution to accommodate

the zoning principle. The Nigerian constitution does not provide or accommodate zoning and rotation of power within the six geopolitical zones. The constitution also does not provide an enabled ground for North and South presidency to be rotationally. This was left in the hands of the political parties which created the division in the PDP ruling party from May 29, 1999 to May 29, 2015. It was on this ground the former President Goodluck Jonathan truncated the zoning arrangement within his political party, the PDP, on the view that Nigerian constitution is superior to PDP's Constitution.

As such, with the early warning suggesting that violence would breakout was still not taken into consideration by the former Nigerian President Jonathan. The North could not allow Peace to reign since they felt cheated to have given power to the South in 1999, while getting back the power from the South needed a fight to finish. This research therefore, recommend that, the Federal Executive leadership should forward a bill to the National Assembly for the amendment of the Nigerian constitution in order to accommodate zoning and rotational power between the North and South, Christians and Muslims as proposed within the zoning formula model developed by the researcher.

ii. NEPAD Partnership on Peace Building:

The research work, recommends NEPAD through her partner agencies especially the civil society organizations to embark on enlightening campaigns into the rural and urban areas on the need for peace building among the Nigerian ethnic diversities.

They should campaign against hate messages targeting against one ethnic group or the other. They should preach peace and unity. NEPAD should as a matter of urgency forward the findings and the recommendations from this research work to the Federal Government of Nigeria.

The Research work also recommends that, NEPAD should partner with the Federal Government of Nigeria through the National Orientation Agency for the purpose of embarking on sensitization at the Federal level, States and Local Governments in bridging the gap that creates hatred against the country's ethno-religious background. NEPAD should engage the civil society organizations on re-orientation of the hearts and minds of the Nigerian people. This is aimed at focusing on Nigeria as one nation and the people as one people in order to promote Nigeria first in the hearts of the people of Nigeria.

It will create the love for Nigeria above personal interest and ethnic interest. The country cannot move forward, until when Nigerians begins to see them as one, placed the interest of Nigeria at heart above personal interest.

iii. Amnesty to the Members of Boko Haram:

The Federal Government should use the model that was implemented during the Niger Delta Militants crisis through the amnesty programmes that led to the militants in that region to drop their arms against the Federal Government of Nigeria. This work recommends amnesty programme should be granted to members of the Boko Haram insurgents in order for the rest of them to drop all their illegal arms to the Federal Government.

This should be a call for Peace in the Northern part of the country and indeed the Nigerian State. This would to promote Peace and Security within the regions that are affected by the Boko Haram attacks. Such environment where the people flee for safety in other countries such as Cameroon, Chad and Niger shall be call back to re-integrate into the country Nigeria.

iv. A Call to Northern Elders:

The Federal Government through the President of Nigeria should call all Northern elders for a general meeting in Abuja in order to seek reconciliation especially to those who were aggrieved during the truncated zoning arrangement in 2011 which the North felt cheated and betrayed of trust.

This is aimed at bringing peace and healing to the hearts that were wounded as a result of the betrayal since it was the North that willingly gave or handed over power to the South in 1999-2007 with the trust that they the North would be allowed to rule from 2007-2015 in a rotational manner.

Secondary

i. Creation of Jobs for Youths:

In view of the fact that, some of the members of the Boko Haram joined the group as a result of lack of job opportunities, the Federal Government should create more jobs for the youths not only for those who are from the Northern part but entire country in order to engage the youth with something doing and to have a means or earning for a living.

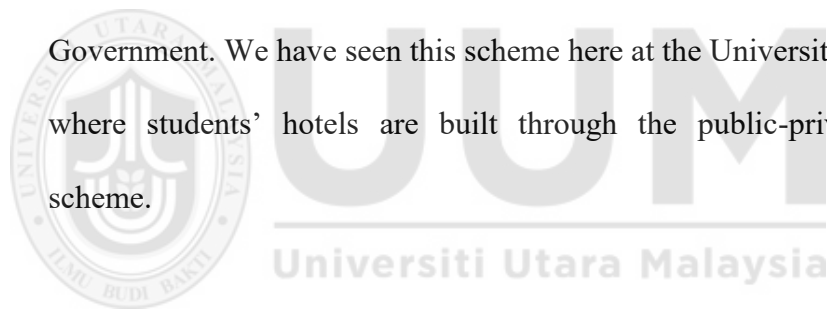
ii. Provision of Housing to IDPs:

As a result of the Boko Haram conflict, there are recorded cases of Internally Displaced Persons and Refugee crisis in so many affected areas in the cause of the crisis. Some of these people who are affected lost their entire belongings including their homes. The Federal Government through the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria should as a matter of urgency, come out with a scheme that would benefit the affected people in order for them to have housing and a place for living with their families that were equally affected.

iii. Provision of Scholarship and Educational Facilities:

Nigerians who are of age to attend school but could not have the opportunity as a result of poverty should be granted the opportunity through provision of scholarship in order to enable them do so. This will reduce the rate of crime committed against the people and the government.

Private-Public Partnership should be introduced by the Federal Government for the purpose of enhancing educational growth and development in Nigeria. On this note, the Federal Government through the Ministry of Education should send delegates to Malaysia so as to learn from the Malaysian Government. We have seen this scheme here at the Universiti Utara Malaysia where students' hotels are built through the public-private partnership scheme.



5.6 Chapter Summary

Chapter five of this research work discussed the role of NEPAD in solving the security challenges posed by the Boko Haram in Nigeria. The chapter explained that, NEPAD went into partnership with the Nigerian security agencies such as the military, police, civil defense through joint task force in recapturing the territories that were formerly captured by the Boko Haram. The chapter also explained how NEPAD partnered with the government in providing job opportunities for the youths through para-military training which started in June, 2013 in order to assist the government in reducing crime rate, enhancing security and promoting peace sustainability in Nigeria. Also, the

chaptered revealed that NEPAD partnered other agencies and organizations such as the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in tackling the problem of the Internally Displaced Persons.



CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF NEPAD’S ACTIVITIES ON NIGERIA’S SECURITY PRAXIS

6.1 Introduction

This research chapter brought forth the findings on the impact of NEPAD’s plan as regards its successes and failures.

6.2 NEPAD’s Partnership on Security

The findings from this research work informed that, NEPAD partnered with agencies such as the police, security defense, and the military to ensure that there’s restoration of peace and security in Nigeria, which is under the thematic area of democracy and political governance. NEPAD also partnered with local and international organizations such as Nigeria Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, ECOWAS, UNDP, and UNHCR for the purpose of ensuring the process of solving the security challenges. The Administration Officer, NEPAD APRM Department, Abuja, Dapo Ifabiyi explained how NEPAD has operated with her partners on security to ensure Nigeria’s stability as he asserts:

If you want to look at it critically, NEPAD as a whole do not enforce, only partner with agencies and organizations. NEPAD has partner agencies such as the police, the security defense and what not, even the military just to ensure that there’s peace and security on ground, which is

under the thematic area of democracy and political governance (21 April, 2015). The success of NEPAD's plan through her partnership with the security agencies was recorded when the military through the joint task force with other security agencies were able to recover the 14 Local Governments Areas that were captured by the Boko Haram where they hosted their flags as Islamic Caliphate (Nwabughio, 2016; Eriye and Alli, 2016). It was also informed that, ideas that would promote peace and security sustainability in Nigeria, as such, NEPAD makes recommendations to the Federal Government for implementation. Such recommendations are forwarded through the Secretary to the Federal Government, then, to the President of Nigeria for discussion during the federal executive meetings for appropriate implementation.

6.3 NEPAD Intervention on Herdsmen

Findings were also drawn from the field work that, NEPAD was directly involved in the intervention of the crisis between the herdsmen and the Tiv Farmers. It was made known that some of the herdsmen hired mercenaries to kill the Tiv farmers (NEPAD Nigeria, 2015). This was part of peace building between the two ethnic groups. The NEPAD Nigeria partnered with the UNDP, UNHR, Nigeria Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution and they were able to organized round table discussions across the communities that were affected by the crisis. In addition, through the integration of NEPAD and her partners on Peace and conflict resolution initiative, the NEPAD State Coordinator, Samuel Iorungwa Agwa, explained that:

The Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria with NEPAD and the civil society, we have last year towards the end, we did round tables in 8 local government areas that were affected by the crisis between the herdsmen and the indigenous farmers. That is a big partner to us, and again we didn't just stop there, we realized that we need to work with the traditional institutions, they are very key, so what we did was even before we started the round tables, we had a big round table with the traditional institutions and the key message was very simple "peace in itself is poverty alleviation", and we made them realize that being peaceful alleviates poverty the same way like even actual trading because ones there is disarray, you may not even open your shops, your shop could even be looted, there will be more issues, and these have been our key partners in this project (8 April, 2015).

In chapter four of this research work, we found that, some of the herdsmen who are arrested by the security agencies had confessed to be members of the Boko Haram insurgent group. More issues such as the Chibok school girls that were abducted by the

Boko Haram, only one that was rescued by the military out of 219 girls in person of Amina Ali why the rest are yet to be rescued from the hands of the Boko Haram. In May, 2016 at the time when Amina was released became a period of two years since 14th of April, 2014 when the girls were abducted by the Boko Haram (Nwabughio, 2016).

In October, 2016, more abducted Chibok girls totaling 21 in number were released by the Boko Haram. Nwabughio (2016) connotes that 21 Chibok girls that were abducted among the 217 girls from Borno State were released by the Boko Haram. It was revealed that the Nigerian government through a negotiation with the Boko Haram which was brokered by the Swiss government and the International Red Cross led to the release of the abducted Chibok girls. In another development, the Nigerian troops rescued about 1,623 people, who were held captive by the Boko Haram at Kala Balge Local Government Area of Borno State on the 18th of April, 2017 (Erunke, 2017).

6.4 The Truncated Zoning Arrangement and Boko Haram

Zoning, also in line with rotation of power as it was truncated, the political elites from the North such as Lawal Kaita who said the country would be made ungovernable if President Jonathan goes ahead to contest, and wins the Presidential election in 2011, the outcome of the research shows that the country became ungovernable since crisis evoked from the Northern part of the country and it affected thousands of people most especially from the Northern region. In relation to the zoning factor in Nigeria, Dr. Idowu Johnson of Political Science Department, University of Ibadan, noted that:

there wouldn't have been crisis in the north in the first instance, but the problem was that, they felt that Obasanjo's four years is the slot of the Yorubas, then the same eight years should be given to that of the north, but because of the demise of Yar'Adua, that was the reason why they were clamouring that Jonathan should have acted, you know there was national crisis, he should have acted and after acting, an Hausa person should have mounted the position. But because of the fact that this was a PDP affair now, PDP now agreed that let him continue, that is a domestic issue. But in the context of Nigerian government and politics, the condition must be restructured, refined and modified so that rezoning formula will be entrenched and everybody will now follow suit, but PDP arrangement was different from the generality of the Nigerian populace and that's why we had the crisis (14 April, 2015).

The Boko Haram through their leader Abubakar Shekau, gave reasons why they fight the Nigerian Government, such issues raised were containing around the neck of democracy, Christians, Nigerian Constitution, Muslims supporting Christians and fight against Western Education.

6.5 NEPAD'S Partnership on Refugees and IDPs

NEPAD partnered with agencies to assist on handling the cases of Refugees and Internal Displaced Persons as a result of the Boko Haram attacks which it was recorded by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that, the Boko Haram attacks affected thousands of people whom some were killed and others were displaced. As at October, 2014, about 13,000 Nigerians flee for safety to Republic of Cameroon, and by November, 2014, 43,000 Nigerians sought for shelter in Cameroon.

It was also gathered that, the conflict between the Boko Haram and the Nigerian State really affected so many people who flee to other countries for refuge such as Chad and Niger Republic. There were also cases of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) that were recorded, NEMA announced about 981,416 IDPs in Nigeria. NEPAD partnered

UNHCR on issues pertaining IDPs whom the agency built about 100 units of houses for them in Benue State (Benue Page, 2015; Soremekun, 2015).

6.6 NEPAD Partnership on Socio-Economic Development

The findings from this Research also revealed that, the period of 2011-2015 received a total of 4.62 trillion Nigerian Naira on National Security with the focus of fighting the Boko Haram insurgents. It was made known that the money in an equivalent of U.S. Dollars amount to 23 billion. Yet, the war never ended under the leadership of President Goodluck Jonathan before he was defeated in 2015 Presidential elections that ended his rule over the Nigerian State. In view of solving the socio-economic challenges in Nigeria, Prof. Terkura Tarnande of the Department of Political Science, Benue State University, opined that:

The issue of unemployment is not something that can be addressed in one day because it's taken a long time to develop. You see the Nigerian economy was so dependent on oil to the extent that some people became lazy and couldn't even want to be employed in other sectors of the economy, they became vendors, and they became people who were just doing something from that oil sector. So, to address the unemployment situation in Nigeria, the government had to start from the diversification of economy and that is what the present government is attempting at doing, people will have to be employed in the line of agriculture and then there will be more industries set up to employ not only government can be employing the teeming unemployed population, if the economy is diversified, and there are other sectors that can employ particularly the private sector, then the problem will be addressed but that will come gradual, it will not be a short term solution. It has to take a while for the economy to take its roots, agriculture to be promoted, and then industrialization to curve up, so in a way that will help the situation (24th March, 2015).

NEPAD thus sought for resolving the unemployment of the youths whom it was believed that some of the youths who are members of the Boko Haram are graduates without job opportunities. NEPAD partnered the government on how jobs could be created for the youths in Nigeria. Nwabughiohu (2016) and Ehikioya (2016) noted that, the Federal Government injected into the 2016 budget about 500 billion Naira on social

investment programme which will gear the recruitment of unemployed Nigerian graduates numbering to 500,000.

6.7 NEPAD Partnership with Federal Government

NEPAD recognized zoning as a tool in resolving the conflict that originated between the North and South, Christian and Muslims as seen from both historical perspective and current issues that led to the conflict under study. The findings revealed that, through zoning, all other zones within the country would be accommodated and that would resolve the agitation between the regions and ethnic diversities to rule Nigeria (NEPAD Nigeria, 2010).

Zoning according to the findings, it will be a vehicle to integrates the Nigerian people irrespective of his or her affiliation largely religion, ethnicity and regional backgrounds. We also found that, the people are not even concerned about infrastructure or good governance but agitation in Nigeria is about this issue of accommodation. However, this plan is not yet implemented as the Federal Government is yet to present the issue of zoning to the National Assembly for it to be included into the Nigerian constitution through the process amendment of the constitution.

In view of understanding the zoning issue and promotion of national unity, the NEPAD

Taraba State, Deputy State Coordinator, Dauda Marafa Goding argued that:

When you look at zoning it gives you an impression that there are geographical maps or demarcations within a particular context, whether at the World level, lower government level, state level or at the national levels. So, it is a sort of demarcation where some areas are given a task that whether you are in this or that zone. I am not a constitutional lawyer, I may not be able to tell you the constitutionality of zoning, but zoning is an arrangement by a particular group of

people to ensure that every part of a particular context is given a say either in the management of resources or whether it's also political etc. so, zoning per se is meant to bringing a kind of sense of belonging. Democracy is all about majority, if we continue to say the majority carries the day, we may end up creating tensions all over, and end up having absence of the required development, so zoning came up as a concept to be able to take care of the fears of the minority. So if you don't do zoning, then the majority will always carry the day or have their way. In Taraba State, we have more than 27 ethnic groups, so if we say we will continue to have the majority to have their way then that means till eternity, the minority groups will not be given a chance despite the fact that there are experts there, knowledgeable people who will be able to give the country or the state the required management attributes, so if we don't give the minority a voice, that means we will continue to truncate whatever contributions they may give. So, zoning is an arrangement, I don't see it as a constitutional thing, it is an arrangement especially at the political realm, either the parties will adopt that system so that a particular section will not continue to dominate (8 May, 2015).

When other zones such as the South-South agitates for Presidency with a notion of oil politics, the South-East with the notion that they have not been allowed to rule Nigeria since after the Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970, such issues would also be resolved through the integration of all zones giving the zoning formula to be practiced holistically. After an outline of the impact of NEPAD's Plan, we will at this stage go to the final chapter of this research work which draws the conclusion and recommendations.

6.8 Chapter Summary

Chapter six of this research work assessed the successes and failures of the NEPAD's plan in tackling the security dynamics of Nigeria 2009-2014 during the President Yar'Adua and Jonathan's led government. The chapter revealed that, through the NEPAD partnership with the security agencies in Nigeria, about 14 Local Government Areas that were held under the control of the Boko Haram were recaptured by the security forces. It was also revealed that, NEPAD partnership with the UNHCR yielded a donation of 100 housing units for the Internally Displaced Persons. The failure of the

NEPAD's plan is focused on the inability to rescue all the Chibok girls that were abducted by the Boko Haram at the time of writing this work. UNHCR (2017) notes that over 85,000 Nigerian refugees were unable to return back to Nigeria while they remained as refugees in Cameroon.



CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter draws the conclusion of the research work with the summary of research findings, research implications, and limitations of the study, recommendations for future research and the concluding observations.

7.2 Summary of Research Findings

This research seeks to answer the following questions: (1) how did the administrations of Presidents Yar'Adua and Jonathan affected the security praxis in Nigeria? (2) To what extent has NEPAD been successful in planning and interventions that are intended to minimize the security threats posed by the Boko Haram? (3) What are the efforts of addressing socio-economic challenges on the long-range security environment in Nigeria? (4) What are the specific factors to be considered in planning interventions to mitigate the impact of the Boko Haram? The work examined multiple contexts as well as using qualitative approaches in answering the research questions.

Basically, the answer to question 1 revealed that the issue of rotation of presidency between the North and South which is also known as zoning affected the security praxis in Nigeria during the administrations of Presidents Yar'Adua and Jonathan. The findings revealed that, the untimely death of President Yar'Adua, a Northerner, brought in President Jonathan, a Southern who took over as the President of Nigeria. The principle of zoning of the presidency was in practice during the return of civilian rule from the military rule in 1999.

Given this reality, the South rule for a period of eight years 1999-2007 and power shifted to the North which they were to rule for eight years 2007-2015 as agreed by the then ruling political party, the PDP. However, after the death of President Yar'Adua, the zoning principle was truncated under President Jonathan. That affected the security praxis in Nigerian political environment resulting to the Boko Haram attacks in the country. The research finding also reveals that, some of the Boko Haram insurgents joined the group as a result of socio-economic challenges such as unemployment, poverty and illiteracy.

To sum up, the activities of the Boko Haram insurgents has further caused security challenges in Nigeria resulting to cases of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), refugees, killings, Kidnapping the people, attacks on churches and mosques, bombing of public building, properties and places. These issues have affected the security of the country and more than 14,000 people lost their lives as a result of the Boko Haram attacks.

In answer to research question 2 the work find that, NEPAD partnered with the Government and Non-Governmental Organizations as well as relevant stakeholders in planning and interventions that are intended to minimize the security threats posed by the Boko Haram. The findings revealed that NEPAD partnered the Nigerian military as seen in appendix 16 and other security agencies in intervening in the crisis zones and involving in the protection of the lives of the people.

More so, the finding reveals that, NEPAD partnership with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) assisted in handling the cases of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria. The research find that, at 13,000 Nigerians flee for safety to the Republic of Cameroon in October, 2014 and by November, 2014, about 43,000 Nigerians sought for shelter in Cameroon. The cases of Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria were recorded by the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) to a total of 981,416 IDPs in Nigeria.

In addition, NEPAD partnership with the Nigerian Government yielded some result where some of the abducted Chibok girls were released by the Boko Haram. It was found that, 21 Chibok girls were released in October, 2016 through the Federal Government negotiation with the Boko Haram which was brokered by the Swiss Government and the International Red Cross. In May, 2017 about 82 Chibok girls were further released by the Boko Haram through the negotiation with the Nigerian Government.

Similarly, in answering the research question 3 and 4, the work finds that, efforts of addressing socio-economic challenges on the long-range security environment in Nigeria has been addressed in different dimensions. The findings reveal that NEPAD has gone into partnership with the Nigerian Government both at the Federal and State levels on job creation for the Nigerian youths. The Federal Government of Nigeria injected 500 billion (Naira) in the economy for the purpose of social intervention programme. This aims at recruiting unemployed Nigerians.

In the same way, NEPAD partnered with the Sokoto Government on creating job opportunities for the youths. The partnership started in June, 2013 with the focus of training the youths on Para-military programme. This was geared to assist the government within their local communities in Sokoto State on reducing the crime rate, enhancing the security and promotion of peace within the State. The Sokoto State Government also trained about 1,000 youths in skills acquisition programme in order for them to become self-employed.

In another development, through the NEPAD Education initiative which is aimed at reducing the rate of illiteracy in the country, NEPAD Rivers State launched a One Million Books Project in Rivers State. The initiative targeted partnership with relevant organizations to donate free school bags, textbooks in English, Mathematics and Sciences. The project is targeted to primary school, secondary and tertiary institutions.

The specific factors to be considered in planning interventions to mitigate the impact of the Boko Haram are thus, the Federal Government should use the model that was used by the President Yar'Adua led government on the Niger Delta militants. The Niger Delta militants dropped their arms against the Nigerian Government during the amnesty programme which was granted to them by the Federal Government.

Accordingly, NEPAD should partner with the private sector especially the industries on creating jobs for the youths. More efforts should be put in place by NEPAD to partner more State Governments on job creation. More so, the Federal Government of Nigeria should call on those who were aggrieved during the truncated zoning arrangements in 2011 for peaceful reconciliation. This is where the North felt cheated by the South for occupying the seat of power from 2010-2015 which triggered crisis in the Northern part of Nigeria.

7.3 Research Implications

The implication of this research work involves practical contribution, theoretical and methodological contributions. The research work is useful to the Federal Government of Nigeria, research scholars, policy makers, students, and managers in the field of security studies. The study has demonstrated the nexus between sharing of political power which is also known as zoning of presidency between the North and South which became the key issue that triggered the Boko Haram security threat under the leadership of President Jonathan. The practical contribution to knowledge in this research entails how the neglect or inadequate attention to addressing the socio-economic issues such as

unemployment, illiteracy and poverty can lead to security threat as in the case of the youths that joins the membership of Boko Haram.

More so, the theoretical contribution to knowledge in this work has shown how frustrated youths who are unemployed, poor and illiterate can become aggressive against the government and the Nigerian state. Such aggression turns out to be security threat against the country where many are killed as portrayed in the case of the Boko Haram. The search work made use of qualitative approach as a method in understanding the security challenges that faces the Nigerian State. As such, the contribution to this research would be useful to NEPAD in her advisory role to the government and how to improve on her partnership in the areas of creating jobs for Nigerians and reducing poverty rate in the country.

7.4 Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to the administrations of Presidents Yar'Adua and Jonathan with specific attention to the Boko Haram insurgency. The study focused on 2009-2014 considering the fact that President Yar'Adua died on the 5th of May, 2010 and President Jonathan became the country's leader on the 6th of May, 2010. He ruled till 29th of May, 2015. During his tenure, the country was faced with the activities of the Boko Haram insurgents from the Northern part of the country.

Furthermore, the study did not cover the renewed attacks by the Niger Delta militancy in the Southern part of the country under President Buhari's led administration. The Niger

Delta resurgence became pronounced by the group of ex-militants known as the Niger Delta Avengers (Amaize and Brisibe, 2016). The study is also limited to the role of NEPAD which is played through the advisory and partnership role in addressing the socio-economic challenges which serves as security threat to Nigeria.

7.5 Recommendations for Future Research

The need for future research is evident in this research work considering two major issues, the resurgence of the Niger Delta militancy in 2016 during the President Buhari led Government, elected for a period of four years 2015-2019. Secondly, future research can be conducted on the role of NEPAD in Nigeria's post-conflict reconstruction in the North-Eastern part of the country. Given that, during the President Jonathan's administration 2010-2015, the Niger Delta militants had dropped their arms against the Nigerian Government when President Yar'Adua granted them the Amnesty Programme in 2009. Jonathan, a Southern succeeded Yar'Adua after his untimely death and during his leadership, the ex-militants did not waged war against his administration. The power shift to the North in 2015 under President Buhari, the country witnessed another resurgence of the Niger Delta militants in the name of Niger Delta Avengers.

Future research can be conducted on why do the Niger Delta Ex-Militants have to avenge the defeat of President Jonathan? How can these groups in Nigeria namely, Niger Delta Militants from the South-South; Boko Haram Insurgents from the North and the Biafra Agitators from the South-East agree on a resolution of placing the interest of Nigeria first and resolving all conflicts against the Nigerian State which forms as threat

to National Security? These are the areas that need future research which are evident in the Nigerian political and security environment.

7.6 Concluding Observations

In a view of promoting peace and security in Nigeria, NEPAD as an Agency of the African Union which was establishment in 2001 and domesticated in Nigeria for the purpose of eradicating poverty amongst others in Nigeria and indeed Africa through the process of integrating other African countries, the civil society organizations, International Organizations, Private and Public Sector partnership both national and internationally, subdivided her programmes into thematic areas for such programmes to be achieved.

The thematic areas in relation to democracy and political governance which encompasses peace and security became the focus of the research work. Peace and Security Sustainability which create an environment for all other sectors of the social-economy to be sustained in a political stable entity, was eroded through the political conflict that led to the Boko Haram attack on the Nigerian State.

In 2009, the Boko Haram emergence was actually put to a stop by the Nigerian Government during the President Yar'Adua's led government. However, the political tussle between the North and the South created an atmosphere for re-entrance and re-enforce of the Boko Haram activities against the Nigerian State when the issue of zoning and truncated zoning arose. President Jonathan who took over power in 2010 after the

death of Yar'Adua contested the 2011 presidential elections and won to rule from 2011-2015.

This led to the conflict between the North and South since the North felt it was still their turn to rule Nigeria to account for eight years given the understanding of the Southern Presidency 1999-2007. The North's agitation was for them to be allowed to rule from 2007-2015, eight through the zoning or rotation of power process which was enshrined into the PDP Constitution and not Nigeria's constitution. The research sought to find answers to what role the NEPAD played during the period under study 2009-2014 in relations to resolving the said conflict, what then are their views on resolving the marginalization process in Nigeria which are mostly seen through religion, ethnicity and regional bias. The findings most especially, revealed that, zoning of political positions should be enshrined into the Nigerian constitution to resolve the crisis that bedeviled the Nigerian peace and security sustainability.

The chapter two of this research work made use of the integration theory in explaining how NEPAD operates, the issue of the zoning principle through integration of the people in relation to ethno-religious, and sectional divides which has to do with the North and South. The chapter also made use of the frustration-aggression theory in explaining the issues on why the youths engage in Boko Haram activities leading to attacks on the people and the government of Nigeria. The theories assisted on understanding the issues and how to tackle the security challenges that faces Nigeria in relation to zoning arrangements and the Boko Haram attacks.

Chapter three of this research discussed the domestication of NEPAD in Nigeria starting from historical background of NEPAD through the various stages that brought about her formation. The chapter explained how the Organization of African Unity was formed as well as the objectives of the OAU. The OAU was later transformed into the African Union (AU). It was under the leadership of the African Union that the New Partnership for Africa's Development was established in 2001. Chapter three further discussed the objectives of NEPAD Nigeria, her priorities, principles and values, the role of the APRM and as well as the NEPAD partners in implementing the peace and security strategy of the NEPAD programme initiatives.

In chapter four, the work discussed the issues that led to Nigeria's security dynamics which includes the truncated zoning arrangements within the then ruling political party, the PDP. The chapter further explained how the truncated zoning triggered the increases in Nigeria's insecurity challenges posed by the Boko Haram terrorist group from 2009-2014 under study. Chapter four of this work also, explained how the series of attacks by the Boko Haram impacted negatively on the Nigerian state where thousands of her citizens are killed by the Boko Haram. This chapter also discussed the series of attacks that took place during the period under study. The next chapter of this research work focused on the role NEPAD played in tackling the security challenges posed by the Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Chapter five of this research work discussed the role of NEPAD in solving the security challenges posed by the Boko Haram in Nigeria. The chapter explained that, NEPAD

went into partnership with the Nigerian security agencies such as the military, police, civil defense through joint task force in recapturing the territories that were formerly captured by the Boko Haram. The chapter also explained how NEPAD partnered with the government in providing job opportunities for the youths through para-military training which started in June, 2013 in order to assist the government in reducing crime rate, enhancing security and promoting peace sustainability in Nigeria. Also, the chapter revealed that NEPAD partnered other agencies and organizations such as the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in tackling the problem of the Internally Displaced Persons.

Chapter six of this research work assessed the successes and failures of the NEPAD's plan in tackling the security dynamics of Nigeria 2009-2014 during the President Yar'Adua and Jonathan's led government. The chapter revealed that, through the NEPAD partnership with the security agencies in Nigeria, about 14 Local Government Areas that were held under the control of the Boko Haram were recaptured by the security forces. It was also revealed that, NEPAD partnership with the UNHCR yielded a donation of 100 housing units for the Internally Displaced Persons as part of the successes recorded. The findings also revealed that, NEPAD partnered the government on job creation for the youths as seen in chapter six of this work. The failure of the NEPAD's plan is focused on the inability to rescue all the Chibok girls that were abducted by the Boko Haram at the time of writing this work. UNHCR (2017) notes that over 85,000 Nigerian refugees were unable to return back to Nigeria as they remained as refugees in Cameroon.

The researcher, through the recommendations from the respondents to find a way of having a formula that would be enshrined into the Nigerian Constitution in order to accommodate all the six geopolitical zones, therefore, developed the zoning formula model as contribution to knowledge and it would be forwarded to the NEPAD Nigeria. It is in view of the fact that, NEPAD can therefore send the model and the research findings to the Federal Government of Nigeria through the Secretary to the Federal Government for onward consideration and implementation.

This research work filled the gap on what role NEPAD played in tackling the security dynamics in Nigeria from 2009-2014. The work therefore, suggest further research to be conducted on what role NEPAD has played through her partnership programme initiatives in addressing the infrastructural challenges in Nigeria that continues to bedeviled the socio-economic development of the country in relation to lack of good roads, lack of stable power supply (electricity) across the federation, inadequate water supply within the urban and rural areas.

REFERENCES

- Abdullahi, A. and Sakariyau, R. T. (2013) Democracy and Politics of God-Fatherism in Nigeria: the Effects and Way Forward. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, Volume 4, No. 4.2 Quarter II
- Abraham Lincoln Online (2015) The Gettysburg Address, Retrieved from <http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm>, Accessed 6th/July /2015
- Adamu, L. S. (2017). The Media's Role in Quelling Violent Conflict Involving Youths as Foot Soldiers: A Content Analysis of News Report on Boko Haram Suicide Bombers and Civilian Joint Task Force-CJTF. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development* ISSN 2278–0211, 5(9)
- Adeko, S., and State House, (2014) Picture of Victims Mother, affected Buses and President's Visit, Retrieved from <http://www.punchng.com/news/sorrow-tears-as-abuja-blast-kills-89/>
- Adesina, J. O. (2004) NEPAD and the Challenges of Africa's Development: Towards the Political Economy of a Discourse, *Society in Transition*, Volume 35, Issue 1, pages 125-144
- Adesina, J. O., Graham, Y. and Olukoshi, A. (2006) Africa and Development Challenges in the New Millennium: The NEPAD Debate, *Zed Books, Volume 5 of Africa in the New Millennium*, pages 58-59
- Adeyanju, J. O. (2017). The Gospel and the Impact of Poverty on the Practice of Ideal Christianity in Nigeria. *International Journal*, 2(2).
- Adibe, J. (2012). Boko Haram: One Sect, Conflicting narratives. *African Renaissance* 9(1): 47–64.
- African Union, (2014) AU in a Nutshell, Retrieved from <http://www.au.int/en/about/nutshell>
- African Union, (2015) Peace and Security Council (PSC), Retrieved from <http://www.au.int/en/organs/psc>, Accessed 12th/December/2015
- Agbiboa, D. E. (2012) Ethno-religious Conflicts and the Elusive Quest for National Identity in Nigeria, *Journal of Black Studies*, 44(1), 3-30, 10 December, DOI: 10.1177/0021934712463147
- Agbiboa, D. E. (2013) No Retreat, No Surrender: Understanding the Religious Terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria, *African Study Monographs*, 34 (2): 65-84

- Agbiboa, D. E. (2013) Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective, *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 144-157
- Agbiboa, D. E. and Maingwa, B. (2013) Boko Haram, Religious Violence, and the Crisis of National Identity in Nigeria: Towards a Non-killing Approach, *Journal of Developing Societies*, 29, 4, 379-403, DOI: 10.1177/0169796X13503198
- Agbiboa, D. E. and Okem, A. E. (2011) Unholy Trinity: Assessing the Impact of Ethnicity and Religion on National Identity in Nigeria, *The Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies* Volume 43, Number 2, 98-125
- Aghedo, I. (2012) Winning the War, Losing the Peace: Amnesty and the Challenges of Post- Conflict Peace-Building in the Niger Delta, Nigeria, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 48(3), 267-280, DOI: 10.1177/0021909612453987
- Aghedo, I. and Osumah, O. (2014) Insurgency in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of Niger Delta and Boko Haram Uprisings, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 1-15, DOI: 10.1177/0021909614520726
- Ajayi, A. I. and Adesote, A. S. (2013) The Gains and Pains of the Amnesty Programme in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria, 2007-2012: A Preliminary Assessment, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 48, 4: pp. 506-520
- Akinboye, S. O. and Anifowose, R. (2008) Nigerian Government and Politics, Elements of Politics, edited by Anifowose, R. & Enemuo, F., Sam Iroanusi Publications, Lagos.
- Akinleye, A., and Igwe, K., (2010) Villagers Bury their Dead after Nigeria Clashes, Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/03/08/us-nigeria-clashes-idUSTRE62735 D20100308>
- Akinola, A. A. (1988) Nigeria: The Quest for a stable Polity: Another Comment, *African Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 348
- Akokpari, J. K. (2004) The AU, NEPAD and the Promotion of Good Governance in Africa, *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 13(3): 243–263 All Progressives
- Congress, (2014) Jonathan insensitive, hardhearted for campaigning day after Abuja blast – APC, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/04/jonathan-insensitive-hardhearted-campaigning-day-abuja-blast-apc/>, Accessed 15th/July/2015
- Alli, Y., Odunuga, Y., and Ogunwale, G., (2014) 21 Boko Haram Detainees Die in Failed Jailbreak, Retrieved from <http://thenationonline.net/new/21-boko-haram-detainees-die-failed-jailbreak/>

- Amaize, E. and Brisibe, P. (2016) Niger Delta Avengers: Timeline of attacks. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/06/niger-delta-avengers-timeline-attacks>
- Amuwo, K. (2002) Globalisation, NEPAD and the Governance Question in Africa, *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 6, Issues 3, pages 65-82
- Anderson, C. A., & Bushman, B. J. (2002). Human aggression. *Annual review of psychology*, 53(1), 27-51
- Anifowose, R. and Enemu F., (2008) Element of Politics. Sam Iroanusi Publication Lagos
- Aning, E. K., Addo, P., Birikorang, E. and Sowatey, E. (2004) African Commitments to Conflict Prevention and Peacemaking: A Review of Eight NEPAD Countries, *Pretoria, South Africa: African Human Security Initiative*
- Anofi, D. (2014) Sultan to government: Address Injustice against the Muslims, Retrieved from <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/sultan-govt-address-injustice-muslims/>
- Any, V. (2012) Making Nigeria ungovernable for President Jonathan, Retrieved from <http://dailyindependentnig.com/2012/06/making-nigeria-ungovernable-for-president-jonathan/>, Accessed 2nd/August/2015
- Anyadike, N. O. (2013) Boko Haram and National Security Challenges in Nigeria: Causes and Solutions, *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, Vol. 4, No. 5
- AU/NEPAD, (2009) The AU/NEPAD African Action Plan 2010-2015: Advancing Regional and Continental Integration in Africa, Retrieved from <http://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/uploads/sectors.pdf>
- Awofeso, S. O. (2014) Inside the PDP, Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/2013/09/04/inside-pdp-seyi-olu-awofeso>
- Awopeju, A., Adelusi, O. and Oluwashakin, A. (2012) Zoning Formula and the Party Politics in Nigerian Democracy: A Crossroad for PDP in 2015 Presidential Election, *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 4
- Ayansina, C. (2015) We've 981,416 internally displaced persons in Nigeria – FG, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/01/weve-981416-internally-displaced-persons-nigerria-fg/>, Accessed 1st/August/2015
- Ayantayo, J. K. (2009) Religious Factors in the Nigerian Public Sphere: Burdens and Prospects, *Africa Development*, Vol. XXXIV, Nos 3 & 4.

- Bach, D. C. (2013) Africa in International Relations: The frontier as concept and Metaphor, *South Africa Journal of International Affairs*, 20:1, 1-22, DOI:10.1080/10220461.2013.783283
- Bartusevicius, H. (2013) The Inequality-Conflict nexus Re-examined: Income, Education and Popular Rebellions, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 51(1), 35-50, DOI: 10.1177/0022343313503179
- Basedau, M., Pfeiffer, B. and Vullers, J. (2014) Bad Religion? Religion, Collective Action, and the Onset of Armed Conflict in Developing Countries, *Journal of conflict resolution*, 1-30, 23 July, DOI: 10.1177/0022002714541853
- Bell, E., & Bryman, A. (2007). The ethics of management research: an exploratory content analysis. *British Journal of Management*, 18(1), 63-77.
- Bello, A. B. E. (2007). Business research methods. Second edition. New York: Oxford university press.
- Bello-Imam, I. B. (1987) Problems of National Integration in Nigeria, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp. 266-281
- Benue Page, (2015, August 11) UNHCR Donates 100 Units of Houses for IDPs in Benue State, Retrieved from, <http://benuepage.net/unhcr-donates-100-units-of-houses-for-idps-in-benue-state/>, Accessed 27th/June/2016
- Best, S.G (2011) Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa: Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan
- Biniyat, L., (2014) Mass Burial for Saturday Kaduna Villages Attack Victims, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/03/mass-burial-saturday-kaduna-villages-attack-victims>
- Blanchard, L. P. (2014). Nigeria's Boko Haram: Frequently Asked Questions. *Current Politics and Economics of Africa*, 7(2), 143.
- Biodun, K., (2014) Chibok: Mother of Abducted Girl Dies, Retrieved from <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/chibok-mother-abducted-girl-dies/>
- Boddy-Evans, A. (2014) Countries Africa Considered Never Colonized, Retrieved from <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/eracolonialism/tp/AfricaNotColon.htm>
- Brimah, P. (2014) Fact: It Was PDP That Promised To Make Nigeria Ungovernable in 2011, Buhari Never Did!, Retrieved from <http://ends.ng/fact-it-was-pdp-that-promised-to-make-nigeria-ungovernable-in-2011-buhari-never-did/> Accessed 2nd/August/2015

- Brimah, P. (2014, March 15) Now That Nigeria Is Ungovernable What Next?, Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/2014/03/15/now-nigeria-ungovernable-what-next/>, Accessed 2nd/August/2015
- Bring Back Our Girls, (2015, June 25) 276 Chibok Girls abducted, 57 escaped, 219 still missing, zero rescued – BBOG, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/06/276-chibok-girls-abducted-57-escaped-219-still-missing-zero-rescued-bbog/>, Accessed 15th/July/2015
- Campbell, J. (2010). Electoral Violence in Nigeria. Council on Foreign Relations, *Contingency Planning Memorandum* No. 9
- Campbell, J. (2014). US Policy to Counter Nigeria's Boko Haram. *Council on Foreign Relations*, No. 70
- Carl LeVan, A. (2013) Sectarian Rebellions in Post-Transition Nigeria Compared, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 7:3, 335-352, DOI: 10.1080/17502977.2013.783999
- Chabal, P. (2002) The Quest for Good Government and Development in Africa: Is NEPAD the Answer? *International Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 3, pages 447-462
- Chambers, D. B. (2013) *There was A Country: Achebe's Final Work*, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 48(6), 752-759, DOI: 10.1177/0021909613506454
- Channels Television, (2015, February 22) IDPs from North-East Nigeria Fear Boko Haram may Return, Retrieved from <http://www.channelstv.com/2015/02/22/idps-from-north-east-nigeria-fear-boko-haram-may-return/>, Accessed 1st/August/2015
- Charles, I. E. and Ikenna, M. A. (2009) Electoral Process and Gender Discrimination in Nigeria: A case Study of 2003 and 2007 General Elections, *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 10, No. 4
- Chick, J. D. (1971) The Nigerian Press and National Integration: *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, Vol. 9, Issue 2, pp.115-133
- Chiluwa, I. (2012) Social media networks and the discourse of resistance: A sociolinguistic CDA of Biafra Online discourses, *Discourse & Society*, 23(3), 217-244, DOI:10.1177/0957926511433478
- Chuhan-Pole, P. (2014) Africa's Growth Set to Reach 5.2 percent in 2014 with Strong Investment Growth and Household Spending, Retrieved from www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release

- Cilliers, J. (2003) Peace and Security through Good Governance: A Guide to the NEPAD African Peer Review Mechanism, *Institute for Security Studies*, ISS Paper 70, April
- Clover, J. (2010) Food Security in Sub-Sahara Africa, *African Security Review*, 12:1, 5-15
- Collins, A. (2007) Contemporary Security Studies, Oxford University Press Inc., New York
- Collins, A., Diana, J. & Katherine B. (2007). Design research: Theoretical and methodological issues. *The Journal of the Learning Sciences*, 13 (1), 15-42
- Creswell, J.W. (2008). Research design: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches. Second edition, thousand Oaks, California: *Sage publications*.
- Creswell, J. (1998) Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Daniel, I. (2011, February 01) I'll not Contest 2015 Election – Jonathan, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/02/i-ll-not-contest-2015-election-jonathan/>, Accessed 15th/July/2015
- Daniel, S. and Muhammad, A. (2014) Bomb blasts kill 200 in Kano Central Mosque, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/11/bomb-blasts-kill-200-kano-central-mosque/>, Accessed 6th/ July/2015
- Day, D. and Yao, A. (2004) Taiwan's National Identity and Political Integration across the Taiwan Strait, *Foundation on Integration and Cross-Strait Studies*, Taiwan
- Diamond, L. (1987) Issues in the Constitutional Design of a Third Nigerian Republic, *African Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 343, pp. 209-226
- Dibie, C. C. (2008) Essential Government for Senior Secondary Schools, *Tonad Publishers Limited*, Ibafo, Ogun state, Nigeria
- Dike, V. E. (2014) Leadership and the Nigerian Economy, *Sage Open*, January-March, 1-10, DOI: 10.1177/2158244014523792
- Diop, A, Dufrenot, G. and Sanon, G (2010) Is Per Growth in Africa Hampered by Poor Governance and Weak Institutions? An Empirical Study on the ECOWAS Countries, *African Development Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 265-275
- Dollard, J., Miller, N. E., Doob, L. W., Mowrer, O. H., & Sears, R. R. (1939). Frustration and Aggression. New Haven: Yale University press.

- Dovlo, D. (2007) Migration of Nurses from Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of Issues and Challenges, *Health Research and Educational Trust*, DOI: 10.1111/j.1475-6773
- Dowd, R. A. (2014) Religious Diversity and Religious Tolerance: Lessons from Nigeria, *Journal of conflict resolution*, 1-28, 23 September, DOI: 10.1177/0022002714550085
- Ehikioya, A., (2014) Jonathan to Meet Parents of Abducted Girls, Retrieved from <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/jonathan-to-meet-parents-of-abducted-girls/>
- Ehwarieme, W. (2011) The Military Factor in Nigeria's Democratic Stability, 1999-2009, *Armed Forces & Society*, 37 (3), 494-511, DOI: 10.1177/0095327X10382217
- Ekanola, A. B. (2006) National Integration and the Survival in the 21st Century, *The Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies*, 31, 3
- Ekereke, A. S. (2013) The Effects of Boko Haram Insurgency and the School System: A case Study of Selected States in Northern Nigeria, *Science Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, DOI: 10.7237/sjsa/137
- Ekpei, P. U., (2010) 100 Killed in Nigeria attacks as Gunmen Storm Villages, Retrieved from <https://my.news.yahoo.com/photos/file-picture-taken-march-8-2010-dogonahawa-photo-152136886.html>
- Ekwe-Ekwe, H. (2013) The Achebean Restoration, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 48(6) 698-709, DOI: 10.1177/0021909613506485
- Elaigwu, J. I. (2014) Federalism and Democracy in Nigeria: Fifty Years After, *Institute of Governance and Social Research*, Jos, Nigeria.
- Emmanuel, O. (2014) Kwankwaso sweeps off Jonathan's footmarks after Kano campaign visit, retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/nwest/158818-kwankwaso-sweeps-off-jonathans-footmarks-after-kano-campaign-visit.html>, Accessed 15/July/2015
- Erhagbe, E. (2012) Ethnicity in the Matrix of Peace and Reconciliation in Nigeria, *European Scientific Journal*, July Edition Vol. 8, No. 16
- Eriye, F. and Alli, Y. (2016) My 12 Months as President, Retrieved from <http://thenationonlineng.net/12-months-president/>, Accessed 27th/June/2016
- Erunke, J. (2017) Troops rescue 1,623 persons held captives by Boko Haram. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/04/breaking-troops-rescue-1623-persons-held-captives-boko-haram/> Accessed 20th of April/2017.

- Ezeamalu, B. (2013) Nigeria will collapse if I am arrested – Asari Dokubo, Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-east/133718-nigeria-will-collapse-if-i-am-arrested-asari-dokubo.html>, Accessed 29th/October/2015
- Federal Republic of Nigeria, (2014) About Nigeria - People, Retrieved from <http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/2012-10-29-11-05-46/people>
- Federal Republic of Nigeria, (2014) Nigeria Natural Resources, Retrieved from www.nigeria.gov.ng/2012-10-29-11-05-46/2012-11-05-09-52-15#topofthepage
- Federal Republic of Nigeria, (2014) States, Retrieved from <http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/index.php#>, Accessed 21/12/2014
- Feierabend, I. K., & Feierabend, R. L. (1966). Aggressive behaviors within polities, 1948-1962: a cross-national study 1. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 10(3), 249-271
- Friedman, U. (2014) How Nigeria became Africa's Largest Economy overnight, Retrieved from <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/04/how-nigeria-became-africas-largest-economy-overnight/360288/>
- Gerland, P., Raftery, A. E., Sevcikova, H., Li, N., Gu, D., Spoorenberg, T., Alkema, L., Fosdick, B. K., Chunn, J., Lalic, N., Bay, G., Buettner, T., Heilig, G. K. and Wilmoth, J. (2014) World Population Stabilization Unlikely this Century, *Science*, Vol. 346, Issue 6206, 234-237
- Ghani, Z. A. (2017). A comparative study of urban crime between Malaysia and Nigeria. *Journal of Urban Management*. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.jum.2017.03.001>.
- Gillies, A. (2007) Obasanjo, the Donor Community and Reform Implementation in Nigeria, *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 96:392, 569-586, DOI: 10.1080/00358530701625992
- Goldstein, J. S., and Pevehouse, J. C., (2011) International Relations Ninth Edition, Longman
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2(163-194), 105
- Gurr, T. R. (2015). Why men rebel. Routledge.
- Hansen, W. W. and Musa, U. A. (2013) Fanon, the Wretched and Boko Haram, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 48(3), 281-296, DOI: 10.1177/0021909612467277

- Hill, J. N. C. (2013) Religious Extremism in Northern Nigeria Past and Present: Parallels between the Pseudo-Tijanis and Boko Haram, *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 102:3, 235-244, DOI: 10.1080/003 58533 .2013.796146
- Hills, A. (2014) Partnership Policing: Is it Relevant in Kano, Nigeria? *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, Vol. 14 (1) 8-24, DOI: 10.1177/1748895812454860
- Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2005) The Neofunctionalists were (almost) Right: Politicization and European Integration, Retrieved from <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofPoliticsinternationalStudiesandPhilosophy/FileStore/ConWEBFiles/Fileupload,38371,en.pdf>
- Ibrahim, J. (2007) Nigeria's 2007 Elections: The Fitful Path to Democratic Citizenship, United States Institute of Peace, January Special Report
- Ideg, Y., A., (2014) Anguish at Jos Hospitals, Retrieved from <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/anguish-jos-hospitals/>
- Idonor, D. (2011) I'll not Contest 2015 Election – Jonathan, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/02/i-ll-not-contest-2015-election-jonathan/>
- Idowu, K., and Soriwei, F., (2014) Boko Haram kills Scores of UTME candidates in Borno, Retrieved from <http://www.punchng.com/news/utme-students-killed-in-boko-haram-in-boko-haram-attacks>
- Igbokwe, J. (2015, July 17) Why Nnamdi Kanu's Biafra Project Must be Stopped, Retrieved from <http://www.punchng.com/opinion/why-nnamdi-kanus-biafra-project-must-be-stop> Accessed 3rd/October/2015
- Ihyongo, F., (2014) Gunmen Kill 15 in Taraba's Bloody Easter, Retrieved from <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/gunmen-kill-15-tarabas-bloody-easter/>
- Ilorah, R. (2004) NEPAD: The Need and Obstacles, *African Development Review*, Volume 16, Issue 2, pages 223-251
- Isumonah, V. A. (2012) Armed Society in the Niger Delta, *Armed Forces & Society*, 39 (2), 331-358, DOI: 10.1177/0095327X12446925
- Jackson, A. (2007) Nigeria: A Security Overview, *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* 96: 392, 587-603, DOI: 10.1080/00358530701626040
- Japan Africa Network, (2011) African Countries and their Independence days, Retrieved from japanaficanet.com

- Jefferson, A. M. (2007) Prison Officer training and Practice in Nigeria: Contention, Contradiction and Re-imaging Reform Strategies, *Punishment & Society*, 1462-4745; Vol. 9 (3), 253-269, DOI: 10.1177/1462474507077494
- Joseph, M. (2014, August 10) Obasanjo Destroyed Zoning Agreement, Retrieved from <http://leadership.ng/news/380561/obasanjo-destroyed-zoning-agreement-adamu-ciroma>, Accessed August 10, 2014
- Joseph, R. (2014). Growth, Security, and democracy in Africa. *Journal of Democracy*, 25(4), 61-75.
- Kayode, B., (2014) Boko Haram Kills Emir in His Palace, Retrieved from <http://thenationonline.net/new/boko-haram-emir-palace>
- Kew, D. and Phillips, D. L. (2013) Seeking Peace in the Niger Delta: Oil, Natural Gas, and Other Vital Resources, *New England Journal of Public Policy*: Vol. 24: Issue. 1, Article 12
- Khurana, S. (2014) National Integration: Complete Information on the meaning, Features and Promotion of National Integration in India, Retrieved from <http://www.preservearticles.com/201012271786/national-integration.html>
- Kruglanski, A. W., & Fishman, S. (2006). The psychology of terrorism: “Syndrome” versus “tool” perspectives. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18(2), 193-215.
- Kumar, M. (2008) The African Union: Its Contribution to Conflict Resolution, *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, No. 3, 106-137, DOI: 10.1177/097492840806400305
- Langer, A., Godefroidt, A., & Meuleman, B. (2017). Killing people, dividing a nation? Analyzing student perceptions of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 40(5), 419-438.
- Lekobane, K. R., & Seleka, T. B. (2017). Determinants of Household Welfare and Poverty in Botswana, 2002/2003 and 2009/2010. *Journal of Poverty*, 21(1), 42-60
- Lempert, D. (2014) What is Development? What is Progress? The Social Science and Humanities of Utopia and Futurology, *Journal of Developing Societies*, Vol 30(2): 223–241. DOI: 10.1177/0169796X14525528
- Lere, M. (2014) Boko Haram leader, Shekau, releases new video; vows to attack Emir Sanusi of Kano, Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/173429-boko-haram-leader-shekau-releases-new-video-vows-attack-emir-sanusi-kano.html> Accessed 6th/July/2015

- Lewis, P. M. (2011). Nigeria Votes: More Openness, More Conflict. *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 22, Number 4, October, pp. 60-74
- Lijphart, A. (1971) Cultural Diversity and Theories of Political Integration, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 4, No. 1, March, pp. 1-14
- Liman, A. (2014) Boko Haram: Why the Northerners Believe Jonathan is Guilty, Retrieved from <http://leadership.ng/features/396929/boko-haram-northerners-believe-jonathan-guilty>, Accessed 6th/July/2015
- Magbadelo, J. O. (2012) Defence Transformation in Nigeria: A Critical Issue for National Security Concerns, *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, 68(3), 251-266, DOI: 10.1177/0974928412454603
- Maingangwa, B., Uzodike, U. O., Whetho, A., & Onapajo, H. (2012). " Baptism by fire": Boko Haram and the reign of terror in Nigeria. *Africa Today*, 59(2), 40-57.
- Mangu, A. M. (2014) The African Union and the Promotion of Democracy and Good Political Governance under the African Peer-Review Mechanism: 10 years on, *Africa Review*, 6:159-72, DOI: 10.1080/09744053.2014.883757
- Marama, N. (2014) Insecurity: Angry Soldiers Open Fire on GOC's vehicle in Maiduguri, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/05/insecurity-angry-soldiers-open-fire-gocs-vehicle-maiduguri/#sthash.1OuVIyAA.dpuf>
- Marama, N., (2014) Again Boko Haram Kills Two; Sets Churches, Houses Ablaze, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/03/boko-haram-kill-two-set-churches-houses-ablaze/#sthash.NlsC92nc.dpuf>
- Marama, N., (2014) Multiple Explosions, Gunshots Rock Maiduguri, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/05/multiple-explosions-gunshots-rock-maiduguri/>
- Mason, M. (2010) Sample Size and Saturation in PhD Studies Using Qualitative Interviews [63paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 11(3), Art. 8, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs100387>. Retrieved from, <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1428/3027>, Accessed 12th/December/2015
- Mayaki, I. A. (2010) South-South Mutual Learning: A Priority for National Capacity Development in Africa, Retrieved from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/WBI/Resources/213798-1286217829056/mayaki.pdf>

- Mbah, P. (2014) Politics and the Adoption of the Policy of State of Emergency in Nigeria: Explaining the 1962 and 2013 Experience, *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol 5, No 15
- Mbao, M. L. and Osinibi, O. M. (2014) Confronting the Problems of Colonialism, Ethnicity and the Nigerian Legal System: The Need for a Paradigm Shift, *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 5, No. 27
- McGowan, P. J. (2005) Coups and Conflict in West Africa, 1955-2004: Part 1, Theoretical Perspective, *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 5-23
- McLean, I. and McMillan, A. (2009) Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics: *Oxford University Press*
- McLean, I. and McMillan, A. (2009) The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics, Third Edition, *Oxford University Press*.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass
- Michailof, S. (2013) Africa 2050: Jobs and Prosperity in a Multipolar Global Economy Moving Out of Fragility and Conflict, *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*, 5(2) 117-149, DOI: 10.1177/0974910113494537
- Moolakkattu, J. S. (2010) The Role of the African Union in Continental Peace and Security Governance, *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 66 No. 2 151-165
- Mukuka, R. (2013) Ubuntu in S. M. Kapwepwe's Shalapo Canicandala: Insights for Afrocentric Psychology: *Sage*
- Munya, P. M. (1999) The Organization of African Unity and its Role in Regional Conflict Resolution and Dispute Settlement: A critical Evaluation, *Boston College Third World Law Journal*. Volume 19/Issue 2
- Muro-Ruiz, D. (2002). The logic of violence. *Politics*, 22(2), 109-117.
- Nabudere, D. W. (2002) NEPAD: Historical Background and its Prospects, *Prepared For presentation at the African Forum for Envisioning Africa to be held in Nairobi, Kenya, 26 – 29 April*
- Nafey, A. (2005) IBSA Forum: The Rise of 'New' Non-Alignment, *India Quarterly: A Journal International Affairs*, Sage
- Naidu, S. (2008) India's Growing African Strategy, Review of African Political Economy

- Naija Gists, (2014, May 5) Video & Translation: Boko Haram Threatens to Kill All Christians in Nigeria & Muslims Supporting Them, Retrieved from <http://naijagists.com/video-translation-boko-haram-vows-to-kill-all-christians-in-nigeria-muslims-supporting-them/>, Accessed 10/July/2015
- Nairaland Forum, (2012, March 29) A Northerner Must Emerge In 2015 or Nigeria will Divide –Lawal Kaita, Retrieved from <http://www.nairaland.com/902626/northerner-must-emerge-2015-nigeria>, Accessed 2nd/August/2015
- Naldi, G. J. (2008) Organization of African Unity (OAU), Retrieved from http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Organization_of_African_Unity.aspx
- National Mirror, (2014) A Picture showing The Abuja Bomb blast Mastermind and the Interpol Retrieved from <http://nationalmirroronline.net/new/interpol-extradites-abuja-bomb-blast-mastermind-ogwuche>
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J., (2012) Beyond the Equator There Are No Sins: Coloniality and Violence in Africa, *Journal of Developing Societies*, 28: 419, DOI: 10.1177/0169796X 12463143
- NEPAD (2015) About NEPAD, Retrieved from, <http://nepad.org/about> Accessed 12/12/2015
- NEPAD Agency, (2014) NEPAD Strategic Plan for the period 2014-2017, Retrieved from <http://www.nepad.org/nepad/knowledge/doc/3321/nepad-strategic-plan-2014-2017>
- NEPAD Agency, (2014) What is the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency (NEPAD Agency)? Retrieved from <http://www.nepad.org/npca>
- NEPAD Agency, (2015) What is the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency (NEPAD Agency)?, Retrieved from <http://nepad.org/npca>
- NEPAD Annual Report, (2005) NEPAD A Programme of the African Union, NEPAD Secretariat, Halfway House, 1685 South Africa
- NEPAD APRM (2015) African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), Retrieved from <http://www.nepad.org/economicandcorporategovernance/african-peer-review-mechanism/about>, Accessed 12th/December/2015
- NEPAD Business Group-Nigeria, (2014) NEPAD Clusters, Retrieved from <http://nepadbgng.org/nepad-clusters>
- NEPAD HSGOC, (2014) NEPAD Heads of State and Government Orientation Committee (HSGOC), Retrieved from <http://www.nepad.org/hsgoc-0>

- NEPAD Nigeria, (2010) Nigeria Governance and Development, Caligate Publishing Company, Ibadan
- NEPAD Nigeria, (2010) Nigeria: Governance and Development *The New Partnership for Africa's Development*, Caligate Publishing Company Ibadan, Nigeria
- NEPAD Nigeria, (2014) African Peer Review Mechanism, Retrieved from <http://www.nepadaprm.gov.ng/homepdf/THE%20AFRICAN%20PEER%20REVIEW%20MECHANISM.pdf>
- NEPAD Nigeria, (2014) NEPAD Priorities, Retrieved from, <http://www.nepadaprm.gov.ng/homepdf/THE%20NEPAD%20PRIORITIES.pdf>
- NEPAD Nigeria, (2014) Primary Objectives, Retrieved from <http://www.nepadaprm.gov.ng/homepdf/OBJECTIVES.pdf>
- NEPAD Nigeria, (2014) Principles and Values, Retrieved from <http://www.nepadaprm.gov.ng/homepdf/PRINCIPLES%20AND%20VALUES.pdf>
- NEPAD Nigeria, (2015) Benue Community Management, Retrieved from <http://www.nepadgov.ng/index.php/regional-projects/165-eeopening-the-capacities-of-community-organizations-for-peace-in-benue-state-to-effectively-address-conflicts-involving-pastoralists-and-farming-communities>
- NEPAD Nigeria, (2015) Sokoto State, Retrieved from <http://www.nepad.gov.ng/index.php/about-us/state-coordinators/216-sokoto-state>
- NEPAD, (2005) A Programme of the African Union: African Union Commission, Ethiopia
- NEPAD, (2014) NEPAD Governance Structures, Retrieved from <http://www.nepad-governance-structures-0>
- NEPAD, (2014) Partners, Retrieved from www.nepad.org/partners
- News Rescue, (2014, August 4th) A PDP Affair: Revealed – The Man who Promised to make Nigeria Ungovernable When Jonathan Wins, Retrieved from <http://newsrescue.com/pdp-affair-revealed-man-promised-make-nigeria-ungovernable-jonathan-wins/#axzz3f08FiRqn>, Accessed 6th/July/2015
- Nigeria Security Network, (2014) Nigeria on the Verge of Losing Borno State, retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/2014/09/02/nigeria-verge-losing-borno-state>
- Nigerian Bulletin, (2015, March 26) Lawal Kaita Was Right: They Made Nigeria Ungovernable After 2011, Retrieved from <http://www.nigerianbulletin.com/threads/lawal-kaita-was-right-they-made-nigeria-ungovernable-after-2011.109388/> Accessed 2nd/August/2015

- Nigerian Eye, (2014, May 8) Boko Haram Video: Read Full Text in English of Shekau's Threat to Sell Abducted Nigerian School Girls, Retrieved from, <http://www.nigerianeye.com/2014/05/new-boko-haram-video-read-full-text-in.html>, Accessed 10/July/2015
- Nija Gists, (2014, May 5) Video and Translation: Boko Haram Threatens to Kill all Christians in Nigeria and Muslims Supporting Them, Retrieved from <http://naijagists.com/video-translation-boko-haram-vows-to-kill-all-christians-in-nigeria-muslims-supporting-them/> Accessed 10/July/2015
- Nwabughio, L. (2013) They Have Made Nigeria ungovernable for Jonathan – Ezeife, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/05/theyve-made-nigeria-ungovernable-for-jonathan-ezeife/>, Accessed on 6th/ July/2015
- Nwabughio, L. (2016) 365 Days of Buhari: His Five Key Achievements, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/05/buharis-five-key-achievements/> Accessed 27th/June/2016
- Nwabughio, L. (2017) Osinbajo to receive released 21 Chibok girls. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/10/osinbajo-receive-released-21-chibok-girls/> Accessed 20th/April/2017.
- Nwokeafor, C. U. (2013) Transparency in the Polls: A Review of the role of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) in the April 2011 General Elections in Nigeria, *International Conference on ICT for Africa*, February 20-23, Harare, Zimbabwe
- Nwosu, O. C. and Ugwerua, E. (2014) Rotational Presidency And Political Corruption In Nigeria: A Critical Evaluation Of President Obasanjo And Umoru Musa Yar' Adua's Regime, 1999-2010 *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* Volume 19, Issue 12, 50-57
- Odoh, O. E. (2017). Islamic Fundamentalism and National Security in Nigeria: Analysis of Boko Haram, 2009-2014 (Doctoral dissertation).
- Ogundiya, I. S. (2009) Political Corruption in Nigeria: Theoretical Perspectives and Some Explanations, *Anthropologist*, 11(4), 281-292
- Oguntola-Laguda, D. (2015) Religion, Leadership and Struggle for Power in Nigeria: A case study of the 2011 Presidential Election in Nigeria. *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Volume 41, Number 2, pp. 219–233
- Ojeme, V., Onoyume, J., Mosadoni, W., Johnson, D., Ebegbulem, S., and Umoru, H., (2014, March 16). Job Seekers - Vanguard. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/03/immigration-job-test-tragedy-16-feared-dead>

- Ojie, A. E. (2006) Democracy, Ethnicity, and the Problem of Extrajudicial Killing in Nigeria, *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 36, pp. 546-569
- Ojo, O. E. (2009) Guarding the “Guardians”: A Prognosis of Panacea for Evolving Stable Civil-Military Relations in Nigeria, *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol 35, No. 4, July, 688-708, 10.1177/0095327X08330813
- Ojukwu, C. C. and Olaifa, T. (2011) Challenges of Internal Democracy in Nigeria’s Political Parties: The Bane of Intra-Party Conflicts in the Peoples Democratic Party of Nigeria, *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, Volume 11 Issue 3 Version 1.0 April
- Okafor, N. (2014) People fleeing the Mubi captured town, Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=733492476723883&set=a.140891809317289.32272.100001894113196&type=1&theater>
- Okoro, E. R. (2014). Terrorism and governance crisis: The Boko Haram experience in Nigeria. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 14(2), 103-127.
- Okoye, a. C. (2017). Entrepreneurship Education: A Panacea for Graduate Unemployment in Nigeria. *Online journal of arts, management & social sciences*, 2(1)
- Oladokun, A., (2014) A Picture showing Malala’s Visit to President Jonathan in Abuja, Retrieved from <http://thenationonlineeng.net/new/jonathan-to-meet-parents-of-abducted-girls/>
- Olaiaa, T. A. (2014) Youth and Ethnic Movements and Their Impacts on Party Politics in ECOWAS Member States, *Sage Open*, January-March, 1-12, DOI: 10.1177/2158244014522072
- Olaiaa, T. A., Apeloko, D. O., Amanchukwu, I. N. and Shiyanbade, B. W. S. (2014) Rethinking Zoning Formula as Political Panacea for Ethnic Conflict and Governance Crisis in Nigeria, *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 26
- Olukoshi, A. (2002) Governing the African Political Space for Sustainable Development: A Reflection on NEPAD, *Prepared for presentation at the African Forum for Envisioning Africa to be held in Nairobi, Kenya*, 26 – 29 April
- Oluwarotimi, A. (2015) 2015: Revisiting Campbell’s Prediction on Nigeria’s Disintegration, <http://leadership.ng/news/401092/2015-revisiting-campbells-prediction-nigerias-disintegration>, Accessed 29th/October/2015
- Omede, A. J. (2011). Nigeria: Analysing the Security Challenges of the Goodluck Jonathan Administration. *Canadian Social Science*, Vol. 7, No. 5, pp. 90-102

- Omodia, S. M. and Egwemi, V. (2011) Party Politics and the Challenges of Political Representation in Nigeria, *International Journal of Business and Social Science* Vol. 2 No. 22; December
- Omololu, T. O. (2014) The Boko Haram Phenomenon as a Derivative of the Inherent Ethnic Security Dilemma in Nigeria's Political System, *Online Journal of Social Sciences Research*, Volume 3, Issue 2, pp 38-48
- Omonobi, K. (2014) Fulani Herdsmen Confess to Membership of Boko Haram, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/04/fulani-herdsmen-confess-membership-boko-haram/>, Accessed 24/July/2015
- Omonobi, K., Akoni, O., Marama, N., Olowoopejo, M., Olatunji, D. and Olatunji, S. (2014, May 6th) BringBackOurGirls: We'll sell Chibok Girls into Slavery – Boko Haram, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/05/bringbackourgirls-well-sell-chibok-girls-slavery-boko-haram/>, Accessed 12/September/2015
- Omonobi, K., Duru, P., and Marama, N., (2014) Weekend Massacre: 90 Killed in Borno, Benue, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/03/weekend-massacre-90-killed-borno-benue/#sthash.9No953fn.dpuf>
- Onapajo, H. (2017). Has Nigeria Defeated Boko Haram? An Appraisal of the Counter-Terrorism Approach under the Buhari Administration. *Strategic Analysis*, 41(1), 61-73.
- Onapajo, H., Uzodike, U. O. and Whetho, A. (2012) Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria: The international dimension, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 19:3, 337-357, DOI: 10.1080/10220461.2012.740319
- Onogu, S. (2013) Dokubo-Asari vows to cripple oil production if. Retrieved from <http://thenationonline.net/dokubo-asari-vows-to-cripple-oil-production-if/>
- Onogu, S., (2014) Anger over Abducted Girls, Retrieved from <http://thenationonline.net/angry-senators-demand-release-abducted-girls/>
- Onokerhoraye, A. G. (1978) The Urban System and National Integration in Nigeria, *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2. Pp. 169-180
- Onoyume, J., Iheamnachor, D. and Ujumadu, V. (2015) We are hopeful that Biafra will come to be, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/10/we-are-hopeful-that-biafra-will-come-to-be/>, Accessed 28th/October/2015
- Onukwugha, A., Agbo, C. and Oche, M. (2015, November 29) Apprehension As Clock Ticks On Niger Delta Amnesty Programme, Retrieved from <http://leadership.ng/>

news /478927/ apprehension-clock-ticks-niger-delta-amnesty-programme,
Accessed 12/12/2015

Onuoha, F. C. (2014). A Danger Not to Nigeria Alone: Boko Haram's Transnational Reach and Regional Responses. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Regional Office

Onuoha, G. (2012) Contemporary Igbo Nationalism and the Crisis of Self-Determination in Nigeria, *African Studies*, 71:1, 29-51, DOI:10.1080/00020184.2012.668292

Onuoha, G. (2013) Cultural Interfaces of Self-Determination and the Rise of Biafran Movement in Nigeria, *Review of African Political Economy*, 40:137, 428-446, DOI: 10.1080/ 03056244.2013.816948

Onuoha, G. (2013) The Fractured Multi-Ethnic State: Contemporary Igbo Quest for Self-Determination in Nigeria, *African Identities*, 11:1, 19-32, DOI:10.1080/14725 843.2013.775838

Onwudiwe, E. and Bertwind-Dart, C. (2010). Breaking the Cycle of Electoral Violence in Nigeria. *The United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report 263, December

Oyetade, O. S. (2003) Language Planning in a Multi-Ethnic State: The Majority/Minority Dichotomy in Nigeria, *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 12(1): 105-117

Oyewole, S. (2015). Boko Haram: Insurgency and the War against Terrorism in the Lake Chad Region. *Strategic Analysis*, 39(4), 428-432.

Panter-Brick, S. K. (1970). Nigerian politics and military rule: prelude to the Civil War (Vol. 13). University of London: *Published for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies [by] the Athlone Press*.

Paul, D. (2014) Telecoms: Star Performer in Nigeria GDP Rebased index, <http://www.mydailynewswatchng.com/telecoms-star-performer-nigeria-gdp-rebased-index/>

Peshkin, A. (1967) Education and National Integration, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 323-334

Pham, J. P. (2012, April) Boko Haram's Evolving Threat, African Security Briefs, Retrieved <https://www.questia.com/read/1P3-2711932791/boko-haram-s-evolving-threat>, Accessed, 21st/October/2015

Phillips, C. S. (1980) Nigeria's New Political Institutions, 1975-9, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol 18, Issue 01, March, pp 1-22

- PM News, (2010, October 8) Group Wants Kaita Tried for Treason, Retrieved from <http://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2010/10/08/group-wants-kaita-tried-for-treason/> Accessed 6th/July/2015
- Premium Times, (2014, May 17) Boko Haram Has Killed over 12,000 Nigerians, Plans to Takeover Country, Jonathan Says, Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/160942-boko-haram-killed-12000-nigerians-plans-take-country-jonathan-says.html>
- Premium Times, (2014, July 13th) Boko Haram claims responsibility for Lagos blast, Retrieved from, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/164858-boko-haram-claims-responsibility-for-lagos-blast.html> Accessed 1st/August/2015
- Premium Times, (2015, July 29) Buhari: No plan to Challenge Cameroon's Ownership of Bakassi Peninsula, Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/187462-buhari-no-plan-to-challenge-camerouns-ownership-of-bakassi-peninsula.html>, Accessed 1st/August/2015
- Premium Times, (2015, June 12) U.S. provides N8.7bn assistance to IDPs in North-East, Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/184933-u-s-provides-n8-7bn-assistance-to-idps-in-north-east.html>, Accessed 1st/August/2015
- Premium Times, (2015, June 18) Nigeria Spends N4.62 Trillion on National Security in 5 years, yet, widespread insecurity remains, Retrieved from http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/185285-nigeria-spends-n4-62-trillion-on-national-security-in-5-years-yet-widespreadinsecurityremains.html?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter, Accessed 1st/August/2015
- Presentation Magazine, (2009, April 20) Abraham Lincoln Speech – The Gettysburg Address, Retrieved from <http://www.presentationmagazine.com/abraham-lincoln-speech-the-gettysburg-address-7493.htm>, Accessed 6th/July/2015
- Rakodi, C. (2012) Inter-Religious Violence and its Aftermath: Insights from Indian and Nigerian Cities, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 48(5), 557-576, DOI: 10.1177 /0021909612464339
- Richmond, O. P. (2007) Critical Research Agendas for Peace: The Missing Link in the Study of International Relations, *Alternatives*, 32, 247-274
- Robins, J. (2010) Colonial Cuisine: Food in British Nigeria, 1900-1914, *Cultural Studies- Critical Methodologies*, 10 (6), 457-466, DOI: 10.1177/1532708610372767
- Rosamond, B. (2000) Theories of European Integration, St. Martin's Press, New York

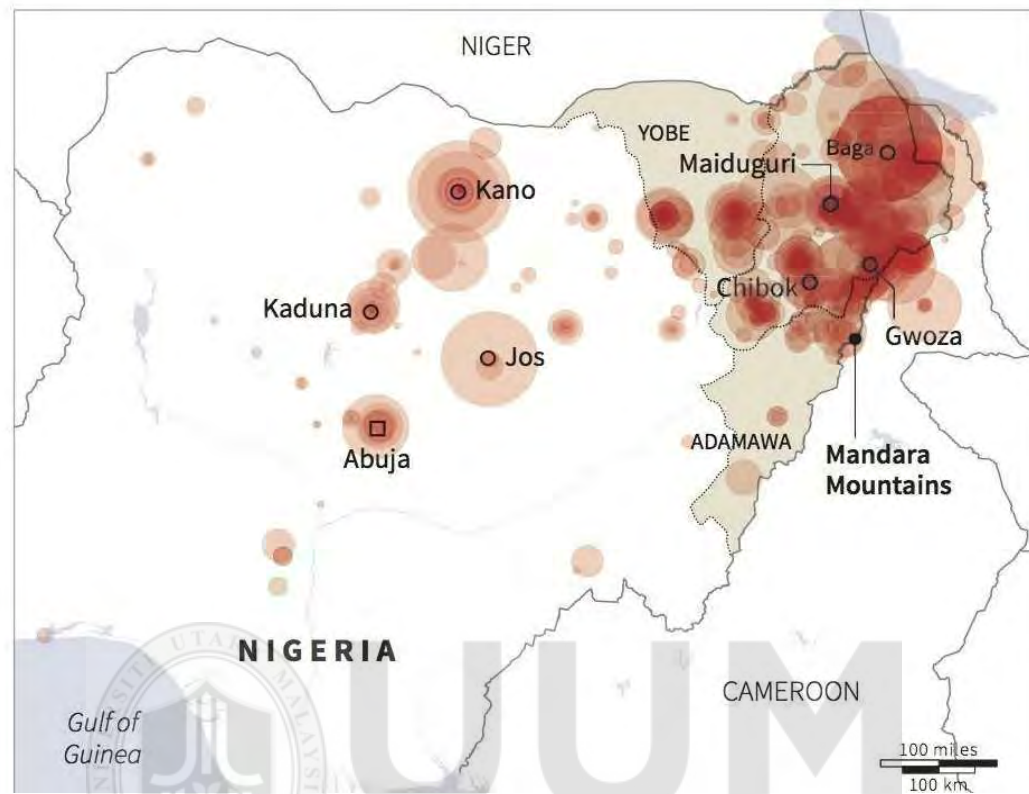
- Sahara Reporters, (2014) Arrested Armed Men Confess To Membership of Terrorists Group Says DGQ, Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/news-page/arrested-armed-men-confess-membership-terrorists-group-says-dhq>
- Sahara Reporters, (2014) Breaking News: Boko Haram Bombs Bridge Linking Nigeria to Cameroon, Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/news-page/breaking-news-bridge-bombing-borno-boko-haram-suspected>
- Sahara Reporters, (2014) Father of Two Girls Kidnapped in Chibok Has Died, Second Such Report, Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/news-page/father-two-girls-kidnapped-chibok-has-died-second-such-report>
- Sahara Reporters, (2014, May 7) Video and Translation: Boko Haram Leader's Threat to Sell Abducted Nigerian High School Girls, Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/video/video-and-translation-boko-haram-leaders-threat-sell-abducted-nigerian-high-school-girls>
- Salaam, A. O. (2012) Boko Haram: beyond religious fanaticism, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 7:2, 147-162, DOI: 10.1080/18335330.2012.719096
- Sekaran, U., & Bougie, R. (2013). Research methods for business: A skill-building approach.[e-book].
- Sidiropoulos, E. (2008) South African Foreign Policy in the Post-Mbeki Period, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 15:2, 107-120
- Simbine, A. (2002), Minority and Power Sharing in Nigeria, Ibadan: *NISER Monograph Research*
- Solomon, H. (2012) Counter-Terrorism in Nigeria, *The RUSI Journal*, 157:4, 6-11, DOI: 10.1080/03071847.2012.714183
- Sonaïke, S. A. (2004) The Internet and the Dilemma of Africa's Development, Sage
- Soremekun, O. (2015) Benue gets UN Village for Displaced Persons, Governor Gives Kudos, Retrieved from, <http://lagos.sites.unicnetwork.org/2015/06/24/benue-gets-un-village-for-displaced-persons-governor-gives-kudos/>, Accessed 27/June/2015
- Soriwei, F., Adetayo, O., and Ogundele, K., (2014) Sorrow, Tears, as Abuja Blast Killed 89, retrieved from, <http://www.punchng.com/news/sorrow-tears-as-abuja-blast-kills-89/>

- Sotunde, A., (2014) A Picture Showing the Public Buses that were bombed in Abuja, Retrieved from <http://www.peaceau.org/en/article/the-african-union-strongly-condemns-the-terrorist-attack-in-abuja>
- Sotunde, A., (2014) The African Union Strongly condemns the Terrorist attacks in Abuja, Retrieved from <http://www.peaceau.org/en/article/the-african-union-strongly-condemns-the-terrorist-attack-in-abuja>
- South African History Online (2014) Organization of African Unity, Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/organisation-african-unity-oau>
- Sparknotes, (2014) The Scramble for Africa (1876-1914) Retrieved from www.sparknotes.com/history/european/1871-1914/section5.rhtml
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). Basic qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory. London: *Sage publication Inc.*
- Suleiman, M. N. and Karim, M. A. (2015) Cycle of Bad Governance and Corruption: The Rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria, *Sage Open*, DOI: 10.1177/2158244015576053, pp. 1-11
- Taylor, I. (2006) China's Oil Diplomacy in Africa, The Royal Institute of International Affairs
- Terwase, A. K. (2014) Picture Showing the Victims of Abuja Bomb Blast Lying Dead, Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=533192053478254&set=a.113632658767531.16755.100003623937595&type=3&theater>, Accessed on 29/12/2014
- The Economist, (2014, April 12) Nigeria: Africa's New Number One, Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21600685-nigerias-suddenly-supersized-economy-indeed-wonder-so-are-its-still-huge>, Accessed 27th/October/2015
- The Info Strides, (2010, October 1) CNN Interviews Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan - The Info Strides.com, Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TYj9coCZpc8> Accessed 6th/ July/2015
- The Nation, (2014) Boko Haram: 11 Chibok Schoolgirls' Parents Dead, Retrieved from <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/boko-haram-11-chibok-schoolgirls-parents-dead/>
- The Nation, (2015, June 19) Sect kills 40 in attack on Niger Republic Villages, Retrieved from <http://thenationonlineng.net/sect-kills-40-in-attack-on-niger-republic-villages/>, Accessed 1st/August/2015

- The Trent, (2014, July 22) 'I enjoy killing people': Chilling Confession of Nyanya Bombing Mastermind, Retrieved from <http://www.thetrentonline.com/enjoy-killing-people-chilling-confession-nyanya-bombing-mastermind-pictured/>
- The Trent, (July 22nd, 2014) I Enjoy Killing People: Chilling Confession of Nyanya Bombing Mastermind (Pictured), Retrieved from <http://www.thetrentonline.com/enjoy-killing-people-chilling-confession-nyanya-bombing-mastermind-pictured/>, Accessed on 6th/ July/2015
- Tilde, A. U. (2014) Emir of Kano, Sanusi, urges Nigerians to depend Selves against Boko Haram Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/171271emir-kano-sanusi-urges-nigerians-defend-selves-boko-haram.html>, Accessed 6th/7/2015
- Tongco, M. D. C. (2007). Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Ethnobotany Research and Applications*, 5, 147-158.
- Uja, E., (2014) Fulani Herdsmen Kill 25 in Benue Village Attack, Retrieved from <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/fulani-herdsmen-kill-25-benue-village-attack>
- Ukeje, C. (2005) Rethinking Africa's Security in the Age of Uncertain Globalisation: NEPAD and Human Security in the 21st Century, Paper submitted to the 11th CODESRIA General Assembly, Maputo, Mozambique, 6-10 December, 2005 on the theme: Rethinking African Development: Beyond Impasse, Towards Alternatives
- Umoru, H. (2012, August 9) Boko Haram: Arrest Ciroma, Lawal Kaita – Clark, Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/08/boko-haram-arrest-ciroma-lawal-kaita-clark/>, Accessed 2nd/August/2015
- Umukoro, N. (2014) Democracy and Inequality in Nigeria, *Journal of Developing Societies*, 30 (1), 1-24, DOI: 10.1177/0169796X13516340
- UNHCR (2017) UNHCR concerned about return of Nigerian refugees from Cameroon Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing/2017/3/58d0ece64/unhcr-concerned-return-nigerian-refugees-cameroon.html>, Accessed 20th of April/2017.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2014, November 11) Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria force 13,000 to flee to Cameroon, Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/546228896.html>, Accessed 24/July/2015
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2015) 2015 UNHCR Country Operations Profile – Chad, Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e45c226.html>, Accessed 30/July/2015

- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2015, February 16) As Violence Spreads beyond Nigeria – UNHCR takes Action, Retrieved from <http://www.unrefugees.org/2015/02/nigeria-violence-spreads-unhcr-takes-action/>, Accessed 30/July/2015 University Press
- Uzodike, U. O. and Maiangwa, B. (2012) Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria: Causal Factors and Central Problematic, *African Renaissance*, Vol. 9, No.1, pp. 91-118
- Walker, A. (2012). What is Boko Haram? (Vol. 17). US Institute of Peace.
- Waldek, L. & Jayasekara, S. (2011) Boko Haram: the evolution of Islamist extremism in Nigeria, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 6:2, 168-178, DOI:10.1080/18335330.2011.605217
- Wanogho, J. M. (2011) National Integration, Retrieved from <http://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/76858/1/national-integration.html>, Accessed 27th/ October/2015
- White, H. and Killick, T. (2001) African Poverty at the Millennium: Causes, Complexities, and Challenges, *The World Bank*, 1818 H Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20433, USA
- Wright, C. (2009). Truth and objectivity. Harvard University Press.
- Yusuf, H. O. (2013) Harvest of violence: the neglect of basic rights and the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 6:3, 371-391, DOI:10.1080/17539153.2013.835528

APPENDIX 1

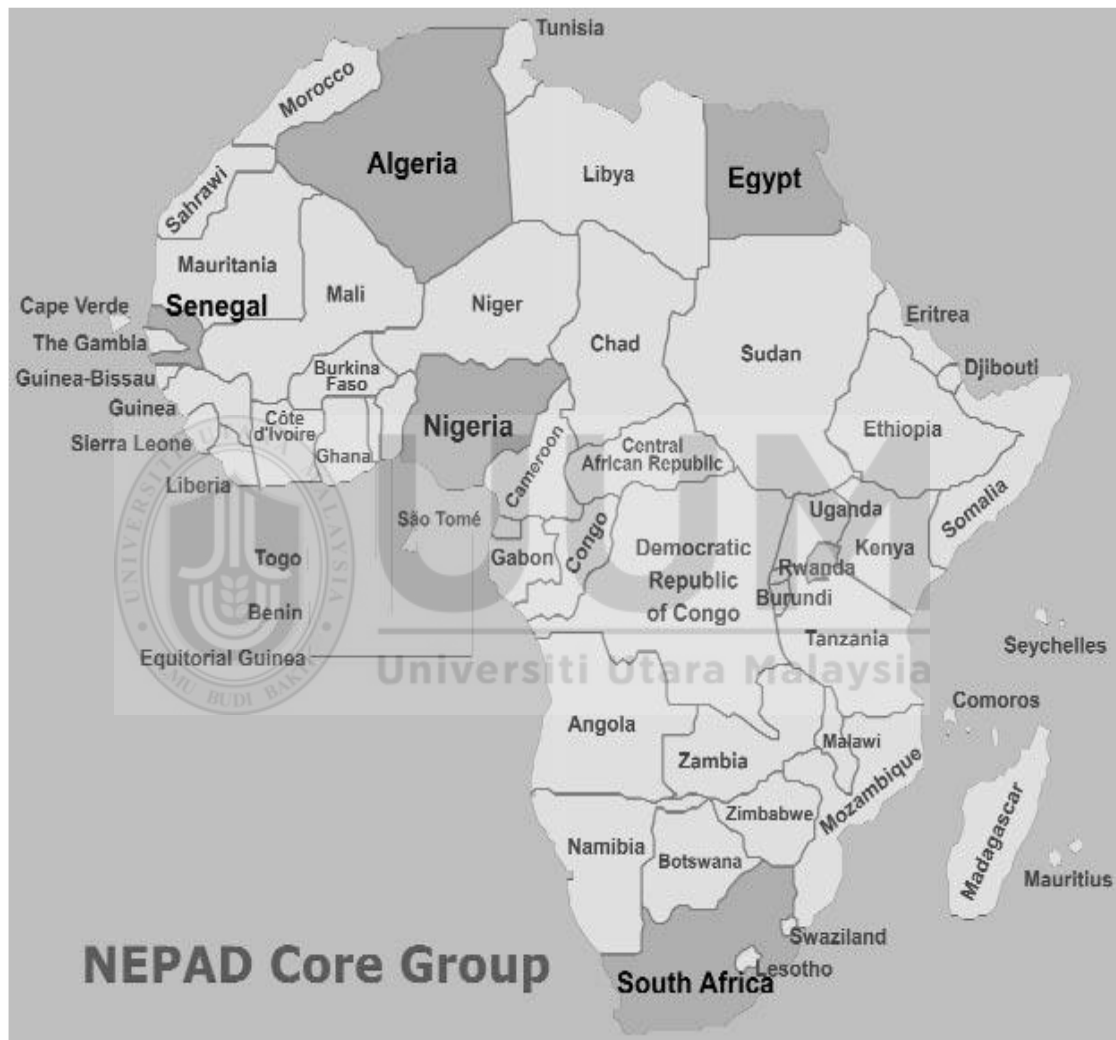


Map of Nigeria showing the states affected by Boko Haram attacks.
Source Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project created by

APPENDIX 2

The Nepad Core Group

They are the initiators of the NEPAD Programme: Senegal, Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt, and South Africa



APPENDIX 3



APPENDIX 4

Lists of Interviews

NEPAD States Coordinator/Directors

Mr. Samuel Iorungwa Agwa, NEPAD Benue State Coordinator, on 8 April, 2015, in Makurdi, Benue State.

Mr. Dauda Marafa Goding, NEPAD Taraba State Deputy Coordinator, on 8 May, 2015, in Jalingo, Taraba State.

Mr. Samson Maga, NEPAD Kaduna State Coordinator/Director Budget, Ministry of Economic Planning, on 25 March, 2015, in Kaduna, Kaduna State.

Mr. Frederick D. Aseminaso, NEPAD Rivers State Director on Youth/ICT, on 7 April, 2015, in Port Harcourt, Rivers States.

Mr. Nemi. D. Ibaraye, NEPAD Rivers State Director on Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, on 7 April, 2015, in Port Harcourt, Rivers State.

NEPAD Head Office Abuja

Mr. Dapo Ifabiyi, NEPAD Administrative Officer, APRM Department, on 21st April, 2015, in Abuja, NEPAD Head Office.

Mrs. Esther Yakubu Philemon, NEPAD Administrative Officer, APRM Department, on 21 April, 2015, in Abuja, NEPAD Head Office

Ms. Dorcas David, NEPAD Administrative Officer, APRM Department, on 21st April, 2015, in Abuja, NEPAD Head Office

Academics

Dr. Idowu Johnson, Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, on 14th April, 2015, in Ibadan, Oyo State.

Dr. John Tsuwa, Department of Political Science, Benue State University, Makurdi, on 6 May, 2015, in Makurdi, Benue State.

Prof. Terkura Tarnande, Department of Political Science, Benue State University, Makurdi, on 24th of March, 2015.

APPENDIX 5



A mass burial in Dogo Nahawa, near Jos, Plateau State.
Source Ekpei, (2010).

APPENDIX 6



Full view of the mass burial in Dogo Nahawa Village. **Source:** Binniyat (2014).

APPENDIX 7



The youths who engaged in violence and attacks. **Source:** Uja, (2014).

APPENDIX 8



A picture of Boko Haram members. **Source:** Idowu and Soriwei, (2014).

APPENDIX 9



A picture of Boko Haram members in disguise as Herdsmen.
Source: Omonobi (2014).

Universiti Utara Malaysia

APPENDIX 10



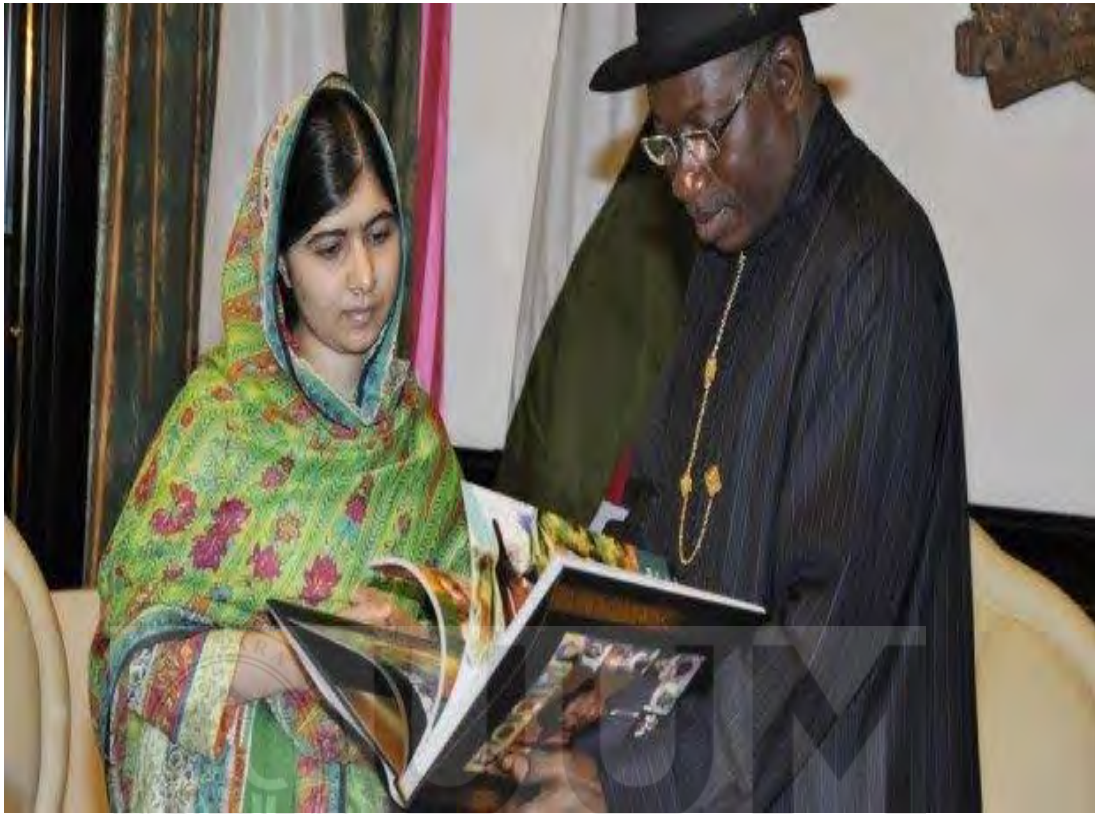
The weapons used by the arrested men. **Source:** Sahara Reporters (2014).

APPENDIX 11



Parents of the abducted girls on their knees crying for the girls' rescue. **Source:** Onogu, (2014).

APPENDIX 12



A picture of Malala's visit to President Jonathan in Abuja. **Source:** Oladokun (2014).

APPENDIX 13

A picture of the public buses that were bombed in Abuja.
Source Sotunde (2014).



APPENDIX 14



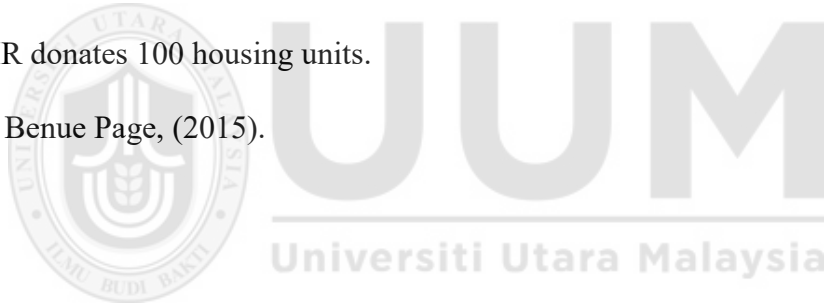
The UNCHR Officials Handing Over housing units for IDPs. **Source:** Benue Page, (2015).

APPENDIX 15



UNCHR donates 100 housing units.

Source Benue Page, (2015).



APPENDIX 16



The picture of the 21 Chibok Girls that were released by the Boko Haram. **Source:** Premium Times (24th Dec., 2016).
<http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/218825-photo-news-released-chibok-girls-travel-home-christmas.html>

APPENDIX 17



The National Coordinator/Chief Executive Officer of NEPAD Nigeria, Princess Gloria Akobundu and the Chief of Army staff, Lt Gen Tukur Buratai, at the Defence Headquarters, Abuja.

Source NEPAD Nigeria (2017), Retrieved from <http://www.nepad.gov.ng/index.php/events/400-collaborate-with-army>